

The VVounded  
**CONSCIENCE**

cured, the weak one strengthened,  
and the doubting satisfied.

*By way of Answer to Doctor Fearn.*

Where the main point is rightly stated, and Objections thoroughly answered for the good of those who are willing not to be deceived.

By WILLIAM BRIDGE, Preacher of Gods Word.

*I TIM. I. 19. Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, and concerning faith, have made shipwrack. Give unto Caesar the things that are. Caesar, and unto God the things that are Gods.*

IT is Ordered this 30. day of January. 1642. by the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament, concerning Printing, that this Answer to Dr. Fearnes Book be printed. *John White.*

*The second Edition, corrected and amended.*

Whereunto are added three Sermons of the same Author;

1. *Of Courage, preached to the Volunteers.*
2. *Of stoppage in Gods mercies to England, with their remedies.*
3. *A preparation for suffering in these plundering times.*

London, Printed for BENJAMIN ALLEN, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Alley. 1642.

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**T**His Treatise was once before travelling abroad into the world, till it came unto the Author, who could not look upon it without much indignation, to see how that, and in it himself also was so much wronged and abused; being so perverted and misplaced (besides other *Errata*) in the printing, that it was nothing like the Book that was intended; so falsely, and so contrary to his meaning, that the Author may truly say as *Martial* to one:

*Quem recitas meus est, O Fidentine libellus,  
Sed male dum recitas incipit esse tuus.*

O Fidentine, a Book of mine  
Thou printedst with my will:  
And yet not mine, but it is thine,  
Because its printed ill.

Much wrong and damage accrued to many by it; but such be the times, that all suffer in one thing or other, and so this may be the more easily born. Its now corrected, and much amended, by the care and industry of a friend, who desires to commend the Book unto thy view, and serious thoughts upon it.

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## To the Reader.



**I**t is Gods Wont to Warn before he smite a people, thereby walking himself after his own rule, Deut. 20. 10, 13. Who would have no City to be destroyed till peace hath first been offered to it; the sword of the Lord is ever drawn, his bow bent, his arrows prepared, his instruments of death made ready, his cup mingled, yet he doth not use to powre down his plagues, untill he have rained a showre of mercie before them, he doth not surprise men at unawares, God never discharges his murdering peeces, till he have first discharged his warning ones, pax domini Luke 10. peace to this house was sounded at every doore where the Apostles came. All Ages and Nations Will bear Witnesse to this truth, the old World, Sodom, Pharaoh, &c. but no Nation or Age can better subscribe to Gods goodnesse, and fair dealing in this then we, who have been Warned sometimes by prodigious signes, as by the appearance of that Wonderfull Comet An. 1618. as importing some strange changes which we have seen and heard since, and as if its last influence might seem to end in this Island, when it blazed over England, it was seen no more, And Herlicius Stargardenus (a noted Astrologer) held, that its influence was like to continue between twenty and thirty years: sometimes by his Ministers, by his administration of Justice, and dealing with other Nations; how long hath the sword walked circuit in Germany, and in Ireland? sometimes by lesser and lighter judgements; how long hath the plague continued in this Citie without intermission? sometime by taking many godly out of the World, and the removing many others out of the Kingdom, who were wont to stand in the gap; sometime by a generall withdrawing himself, pulling down his hangings, not assisting his ordinances, &c. And unlesse we will wilfully shut our eyes, how hath the goodnesse, patience, bounty, mercifull, and powerfull dealings of God towards us, and for us of late, been as an hand put forth to leade us home unto him? to calse us to meet him, and take warning that we might prevent these wasting calamities that are gathered together in a black cloud, as though they meant to empty themselves in a showre of blood upon our heads? But we are so far from taking warning, that we study to hasten our own ruine, almost every one instead of bringing his bucket of water to quench the fire that is already flaming about our ears, bring their bellows in their hands to blow up these coals of dissention in all places, so that now not onely is there a Kingdome divided, but the head and the members divided, and the members among themselves, Cities and Townes divided, yea families divided, Parents against children, brother against brother, and familiar friends become bitter enemies one to another, the most sure symptome and presage of a fearfull desolation to fall upon all, unlesse some speedie remedy be applyed to this desperate disease, and the great God himselfe become our Phisitian and heale our distempers. I shall desire to commend these two Sermons to thy serious consideration; in the one thou shalt see there is a stoppage

## TO THE READER.

made of Gods mercies (Who was coming to heal us but we would not be healed) the causes are discovered, and the remedies prescribed, that could we so go to work to open these stoppings, and bring God again into the way of his mercies; could we see our sins removed, and God returned, I might then truly say that there would be yet hope for England. The other Sermon is a preparative to bear that crosse that so many have already on their backs, viz. of being turned out of all our earthly comforts; a sad calamity indeed, but now too usuall, and when so many of our neighbours houses are on fire, why should we think to escape scot-free, that are as deep in sin as they? being therefore forewarn'd, let us be forc-arm'd, and get into God and his favor, as that one necessary thing for us all to look after, as the onely means to keepe us from sinking unedr the waves that flow in upon all, especially on Gods people; experience shewing, that if we will live in the power of godlinesse, and not walk in the same excesse of riot with the World, we shall make our selves a prey, and had need to have our helmets on to lanch the blowes that fall upon us, and resolve to sit loose from the World, that we may suffer the spoyling of our goods with joy, and be able to say with that noble Spartan; Who being told of the death of his children, Answered; I know well they were all begot mortall. 2. That his goods were confiscate, I knew what was but for mine use, was not mine. 3. That his honor was gone, I knew no glory could be everlasting on this miserable earth. 4. That his sentence was to dye, that is nothing, Nature hath given the like sentence both of my condemners and of me; Now should we get a stocke of faith and learn how to use it, to live by it when our lands, our stocks, our trades, our friends, our wit, our shifts (as the ordinary means of our livelihood) shall faile us. That we may live not onely above our fears, and troubles, and doubts, but above the World, above our selves, in God and in Christ, in whom we may see supply to all our wants, satisfaction to all our desires, and have recompense for all our losses, and every thing that may make for our good and welfare; light in our darknesse, life in our death, strength in our weaknesse, riches in our poverty, and comfort our selves, that we serve a Master that will one day right all our wrongs, reckoning the injuries that be done to his, as done to himselfe; so that we should not think much to part with our Country, our Children, our Possessions, our life if the World will take them from us, for Christ and his Gospels sake. All these, and much better than these shall be restored to us one day, and we may say thus to our selves; yet I am not miserable so long as my Redeemer is happy, he lives, and I shall live with him, men may take from me my goods, but they cannot rob me of my grace, they may banish me from my Countrey, but not from Heaven, take from me my life, but not my happines; no, my faith, my heaven, my soul, my happines is in his keeping, that will safely preserve them for me, and me for them. But I fear I have held thee too long in the porch, I shall now open thee the door and let thee in, praying God to make those lessons as profitable to thee, as the Authors desire was they might both in his preaching them, and his willingnesse to have them published for publike good.



# AN INTRODUCTION

Vnto the Treatise necessary for all good  
Subjects to understand, &c.

**H**ave perused Doctor *Feare* his booke intituled, The resolving of Conscience, wherein I finde that he hath exceedingly mistaken the question; the question in truth is, whether the Parliament now hath justly taken up arms; we affirme it, he denies it, and withall slips into another question, whether it be lawfull for the Subjects to take armes against their King: But if he will so propound the question, then I must preface these two or three distinctions, and one caution, First, that the Subject is considered two waies, either

<i>conjunctive</i> ,	<i>conjunctively</i> ,	} The Subject considered
or	or	
<i>divisive</i> ,	<i>divisively</i> .	

visively hath alwayes applied himselfe to prayers and teares, using no other remedy; and of this we speake not: but conjunctively considered ate-wife, so he now doth, and 'tis lawfull for him thus to take up arms. Secondly, the Subject may be laid to take up armes either as an act of self preservation, or as an act of jurisdiction exercised towards his Prince. The first way we say it is lawfull; the second way we contend not for. Thirdly, the Subject is said to take up armes against the King either as against the Kings person, and of this we do not speak: or as against the Kings commandment for their own preservation, so we affirm it, and then the position is,

That it is lawfull for the Subjects conjunctively considered to take up armes for self-preservation against the Kings commandment, where two things are to be cleared: First, that this is the case of the Parliament. Secondly, that this is lawfull for them to do: first, this is their case, for as

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any

The position.

1. any reasonable by-stander may observe there are 3 grounds of this the proceeding, the one is to fetch in Delinquents, and such persons as are accused before them to be legally tried in that highest Court of the Kingdome; the second is to defend the State from forraigne invasion, who see more into the danger then we do; the third is to preserve themselves and the Countrey from the insurrection and rebellion of Papists: and that this is lawfull we prove by divers reasons, some drawn from nature, some from Scripture, some from the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, some from the being of Parliaments, and some from the common trust reposed on Princes.

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2. First, from nature; It is the most naturall worke in the world for every thing to preserve it selfe. Naturall for a man to preserve himselfe, naturall for a Community; and therefore when a Common-weale shall chuse a Prince or a State-officer, though they trust him with their welfare, that act of their trust is but by positive law, and therefore cannot destroy the naturall law, which is selfe-preservation, *Cum humana potest & supra ius natura non existit*, seeing that no humane power is above the law of nature.

2.

Secondly, from Scripture: the Word of God saith expressly in 1 *Chronic.* 12. 19. That *David* went out against *Saul* to battaile: yet he was *Saul* subject at that time, for the Lord of the Philistims lent him away, saying he will fall to his Master *Saul*: which Text I bring not to prove that a Subject may take up armes against the King person; but that the Subject may take up armes against those that are malignant about the Kings person, notwithstanding the Kings command to the contrary, which because this of *David* is said to be against *Saul*, and that *David*s heart smote him for cutting off the lap of *Saul*s garment: the meaning therefore must needs be that he went out in battell against those that attended upon *Saul*, strengthened by *Saul*s authority, notwithstanding *Saul*s command to the contrary. And in the new Testament, *Rom.* 13. 1 *We are commanded to be subject to the higher Powers*, now the Parliament being the highest Court of Justice in this Kingdome (as King *James* saith in his *Basilicon Doron*) must needs be the higher powers of England, though the King be supreme, yet they have the high power of declaring the law (as this Doctor *Fearne* confesseth) being most fit to judge what is law. They therefore declaring this to be the fundamentall Law of the Kingdome for the subjects to defend themselves by forcible resistance, notwithstanding the Kings command to the contrary, it is the duty of all the subjects to be obedient to these higher powers.

3.

Thirdly, from the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome: It is acco-



ding to the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome (yea written and not un-  
 scene Lawes) That the Parliament are trusted by the Common-weale  
 with the welfare and security thereof; whence I doe reason thus: If it be  
 the duty of the King to looke to the safety of the Kingdome, and that be-  
 cause he is trusted therewith by the Common-weale; then if the Parlia-  
 ment be immediatly trusted by the Common-weale with the safety there-  
 of as well as the King, though not so much, then are they to looke to it,  
 and to use all meanes for the preservation thereof as well as the King:  
 But so it is that the Prince is bound to looke to the safety and welfare of  
 the Kingdome as is agreed by all; and secondly, therefore he is bound to  
 it because he receiveth this power originall (I speake not in opposition  
 to God) but I say originally from the people themselves, as appears by  
 the government of the Judges and Kings of Israel, which government,  
 this Doctor saith, was Monarchicall, the best plat-forme for England: For  
*Judges 8. 22. The men of Israel come unto Gideon to make him their King, and*  
*Judges the 9. 6. They gathered together and made Abimeleck their King, and*  
*Judges 11. 8, 9, 10, 11. The people covenanted with Jephtha and made him their*  
*King:* and as for *Saul*, (though he was designed by God to the King-  
 dome) yet the people themselves chose the kinde of their government  
 first, when they said, *Give us a King to rule over us after the manner of the*  
*Nations:* After that God had annointed *Saul*, it is said, *1 Sam. 11. 15. And*  
*all the people went to Gilgall, and there they made Saul King before the Lord in*  
*Gilgall:* and as for *David*, though he was annointed King by *Samuel*, yet  
 we finde that he continued a Subject unto *Saul* after that; and the 2. of  
*Sam. 2. He came unto Hebron, and there the men of Judah were, and there they*  
*annointed David King over the house of Judah, v. 4.* After that he was thus  
 annointed by *Judah* to be King over them, yet he did not rule over *Israel*,  
 till the other tribes also went out and made him King over them, *1 Cron.*  
*12. 38.* It is said that all these men of warre came with a perfect heart to  
 Hebron to make *David* King over all *Israel*, & as for *Solomon* (though he  
 was designed by God to the Kingdome, yet) it is said of him also, *1 Chron.*  
*29. 22. that all the Congregation did eat and drinke before the Lord, and they*  
*made Solomon the son of David King the second time, and annointed him unto*  
*the Lord to be the chiefe Governour.* *Solomon* being dead, the second of the  
*Chron. 10. 1.* It is said of *Rehoboam*, that he went to *Shechem*, where all  
*Israel* came to make him King; and in the second of *Sam. 16. 18.* it is  
 said thus: *And Hushai said unto Absolon, God save the King, God*  
*save the King:* and *Absolon* said unto *Hushai*, *Is this thy kindnesse*  
*unto thy friend, why wentest thou not with thy friend?* And *Hushai*  
 said unto *Absolon* againe, *nay, but whom the Lord and this people*  
 and

and all the men of Israel chuse, his will I be, and with him will I abide: and that wee see that these Monarchs both of the Judges and Kings of Israel were chosen and entrusted by the people, and had their power of governing from them. 3. The Parliament also is immediatly trusted by the people, and Common-weal with the safety thereof as well as the King though not to be King, for they are the officers of the Kingdom, and therefore chosen immediatly by the people, and not designed by the King: and this kinde of officers was in *Dauids* time also: there were some Officers then that were the Kings Officers, his Cooks, his Bakers, the steward of his house, and the like. Others were the officers of the Kingdome called the Elders and heads of the Tribes, which though they were under him yet were they with him trusted in the affairs of the Kingdome, whom therefore he did consult with in the great affaires of the State, *1 Chron. 13. 1* wherefore seeing the King is to looke to the safety of the Kingdome, and that because he is trusted therewith by the people, and the Parliament are as well trusted by the people with the safety of the land, it is their duty in case of danger to looke to it, which they are not able to doe, and make good their trust, unlesse they have power to take up Arms against an enemy, when the Prince is misled or defective.

4. From the being of a Parliament. As it is a Parliament it is the highest Court of Justice in the Kingdome, therefore hath power to send for by force those that are accused before them that they may come to their trial; which power (if I mistake not) inferiour Courts have, much more the highest. 'Tis out of doubt agreed on by all that the Parliament hath a power to send a Sergeant at Armes to bring up such an one as is accused before them; and if they have a power to send one Sergeant at Armes then 20. if 20. be accused, then a 100. if there be a 100. accused, then a thousand, if there be a thousand accused, then tenne thousand, if there be tenne thousand accused, and so more or lesse as occasion serves; for there is the same reason for two as for one, and for 4. as for 2. and for a 100. as for 20. and for a 1000. as for a 100. and take away this power from the Parliament, and 'tis no longer a Parliament, but the King and his forefathers have by law settled these liberties of Parliaments, and therefore according to Lawes, they have a power to send for by force those that are accused to be tried before them, which they cannot do unlesse they raise an army, when the accused are kept from them by an army.

5. From the common trust reposed on Princes and the end thereof which is to feed their people, *Psal. 78. 70.* He chuse David his servant and took him from the Sheep-fold to feed his people, Jacob and his inheritance in *Israel*. The end why the people have trusted the Prince is the safety



and security of the Kingdom, the safety and welfare of the State; not that the King might be great, and the Subjects slaves. Now if a people should have no power to take up armes for their owne defence because they had trusted the Prince therewithall, then by that trust they intended to make themselves slaves. For suppose the King will let in a common enemy upon them, or take his owne Subjects and make them slaves in Gallies, if they may not take up armes for their owne defence because they had trusted their Prince therewithall; what can this be but by their trust to make themselves slaves unto him?

2. The caution that is to be premised is this; notwithstanding all that I have said yet, I doe not say that the Subjects have power to depose their Prince; neither doth our assertion or practice enforce such an inference.

Object. But if the power of the Prince be derived from the people; then they may take away that power againe. Resp. It followes not; neither shall the people need to thinke of such an inference. Indeed if the power were derived from the people to the Prince firstly, and that the people should be so strait-laced that they should have no power left to defend themselves in case of danger when the Prince is misled, or unfaithfull, then the people might be occasioned to thinke of deposing their Prince: but though the power of the Prince bee originally from them, yet if they have so much power left as in times of danger, to look to their owne preservation; what need they thinke of any such matter?

Object. Why but if the people give the power, then if abused, they may take it away also. Res. No that needs not; seeing they never gave away that power of selfe preservation; so that this position of ours is the onely way to keepe people from such assaults, whereby the power of the Prince is more fully established: whereas if people were kept from power of selfe-preservation which is naturall to them, it were the onely way to breake all in peeces; for *Nulla violentia contra naturam est perpetua*, no violent thing against nature is perpetuall. Thus have I clearly opened our opinion, and proved our sentence; give me leave now to speake with the Doctor.

Section I.

The Doctor saith, That in the proposition or principle, by the word resistance is meant not a denying of obedience to the Princes command; but a rising in armes a forcible resistance: this though cleare in the question; yet I thought good to insinuate to take off that false imputation laid upon the Di-

Gubernato  
res ergo in  
his rebus  
quæ cum de-  
calogo &  
iustis legi-  
bus pugnant  
nihil juris  
aut immu-  
nitatis ha-  
bent præ  
ceteris ho-  
minibus  
privatis; &  
perpetran-  
tes id quod  
malum est,  
Coguntur  
tam metue-  
re ordinari-  
onem Dei  
gladium  
prestante ad  
vindictam  
nocentium  
quam alii  
homines  
privati nam  
Paulus Ro.  
13. docet  
Deum ordi-  
nasse & in-  
stituisse po-  
testatem il-  
lam gladio  
defendendi  
bonum, &  
puniendo  
malum, &  
præcipit ut  
omnis ani-  
ma (& sic  
ipsi guber-  
natores tali  
Dei ordina-  
tione sit sub-  
iecta, hoc  
est obligat  
ad facien-  
dam bonum  
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tione &  
non ob sua  
facinora  
impia puni-  
ri. Magde-  
burgensis  
sent. 1. l. 20.

*vines of this Kingdom, and upon all those that appear for the King in this cause.*  
Here the Dr. would insinuate in the very entrance of his book (that so he might the better *captare benevolentiam*, curry favour for the matter of his discourse following.) That the Divines of England are of his judg-  
ment. But if they be so, surely their judgement is lately changed: But indeed what Divines are of his judgement? not the Divines of Germany, not the Divines of the French Protestant Churches, not the Divines of Geneva, not of Scotland, not of Holland, not of England.

Not the Divines of Germany, who say thus: *Governours therefore in such things that are repugnant to the Law of God, have no power or immunity above other private men, & they themselves commanding that which is evil, have no power or immunity above other private men, and they themselves commanding that which is evil, are as much bound to feare the ordinance of God, bearing the sword for the punishment of vice as other private men.* For Saint Paul in Rom. 3. saith, that God did institute and ordaine a power both of defending that which is good, and punishing that which is evil, and he commands that every soule (and so the Governours themselves) would bee subject to this ordinance of God that is bound to doe good, if they would be defended by this ordinance of God, and not by their wicked deeds, make themselves liable to punish-  
ment.

Not the Divines of the French Protestant Churches; witnesse their taking up of armes for the defence of themselves at Rochell.

Not the Divines of Geneva: For as Calvin in the 4. book of his institutions chap. 10. saith thus: *For though the correcting of unbridled govern-  
ment be revengement of the Lord, let us not by and by think that it is committed to us, to whom then is given no other commandment but to obey and suffer; I speak alway of private men, for if there be at this time any Magistrates in the behalfe of the people (such as in old time were the Ephori that were set against the Kings of Lacedemonia, or the tribuner of the people against the Roman Consuls, or the Demarchy against the Senate at Athens, and the same power which peradventure as things are now the 3 States have in every Realm when they hold their principal assemblies) I do so not forbid them according to their office to withstand the outraging licentiousnesse of Kings, that I affirm, if they wink at Kings wilfully ranging over and treading down the poor Commonalty, their dissembling is not without wicked breach of faith, because they deceitfully betray the liberty of the people whereof they know themselves appointed to be protectors by the ordinance of God.*

Not the Divines of Holland, for we know what their practise is to-  
wards the King of Spaine.

Not the Divines of Scotland: for Buchanan saith: for I can number  
twelve,



twelve, or more Kings among our selves, who for their sinne and wickednesse were either cast into prison during their life, or else eschewed the punishment by banishment. But this is that which we contend for, that the people from whom the Kings have all that they have are greater then the Kings, and the whole multitude have the same power over them, as they have over particular men out of the multitude, witnesses also their late taking up armes when they came into England, which by the King and Parliament is not judged rebellion.

Not our English Divines, whose judgement Dr. Willet was acquainted with as well as our present Dr. who saith thus: *Touching the point of resistance certaine differences are to be observed: for when there is an extraordinary calling (as in the time of the Judges) or when the Kingdome is usurped without any right, as by Athalia, or when the land is invaded by forraigne enemies, as in the time of Maccabees, or when the government is altogether elective as the Empire of Germany, in all these cases then is least question of resistance to be made by the generall Councell of the States, yet where none of these concur, God forbid that the Church and Common-wealth should be left without remedy, the former conditions (viz. those alledged by Pareus) observed, when havock is made of the Common-wealth, or the Church and Religion. Thus also Doctor Bilson (whose booke was allowed by publicke authority and printed at Oxford) speakes: If a Prince should goe about to subiect his Kingdome to a forraigne Realme, or change the forme of the Common-wealth from Empery to Tyranny, or neglect the lawes established by common consent of Pr. and people to execute his owne pleasure in these and other cases which might be named: if the Nobles and Commons joyne together to defend their ancient and accustomed liberties, regiments and lawes, they may not well be accounted rebels. And the title of that page is, the Law sometimes permits resistance; and the margin is, in some cases the Nobles and Commons may stand for their publicke regiment and laws of their Kingdome.*

All which judgements of severall Divines, I doe not bring forth as if I were of their mindes for deposing or punishing of Princes by the people, which we plead not for in Hereditary Princes, but to shew how the Doctors judgement is different from the judgement of the Divines of all Protestant Countries, notwithstanding he would insinuate that our Divines of England are of his judgement: and that our judgement is no new upstart opinion, you see what was the judgement of the Divines in the Councell of Basil, where one of them saith thus: *That in every well ordered Kingdome it ought specially to be desired that the whole Realme ought to be of more authority then the King, which if it happened contrary, it is not to be called a Kingdome, but tyranny, so likewise doth he thinke of the Church, &c.*

cap. 4. page 437. Quod autem ad nos proprie pertinet possumus enumerare duodecim aut etiam amplius reges qui ob scelera & flagitia aut in perpetuum carcerem sibi damnati, aut exilio vel morte voluntaria iustas sceleris poenas fugerant nos autem in contentimus populum a quo reges nostri habent quicquid juris sibi vindicant regibus esse potentiores: Iusque idem in eos habere multitudinem quod illi in singulos a multitudine habent, Bat de Gub: Regai apud Scotos.

Dr. Willet. Co. on Ro. 13. Q. 17.

Bilsons true difference between Christian subjection, and unchristian rebellion. p. 4. 351.

And

And presently another of the Divines of the same Cause saith thus: For the Pope is in the Church, as the King is in his Kingdom, and for a King to be of more authority than his Kingdom, this were too absurd, ergo neither ought the Pope to be above the Church; for like as oftentimes Kings which doe wickedly rule the Common-weale, and exercise cruelty are deprived of their Kingdoms, even so it is not to be doubted but that the Bishops of Rome may be deposed by the Church; that is to say, by the generall Councell; neither doe I herein allow them which attribute so large and ample authority unto Kings, that they will not have them bound under any Lawes, for such as doe so say are but flatterers, who do talke otherwise then they think. For albeit that they doe say that the moderation of the law is alwaies in the Princes power, that do I thus understand; that when as reason shall perswade, hee ought to digresse from the rigour of the law: for he is called a King who careth and provideth for the Common-weale, taketh pleasure in the profit and commodity of the subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth, which if he doe not, he is not to be accounted a King, but a Tyrant, whose property it is only to suck his owne profit. For in this point a King differeth from a Tyrant, that the one seeketh the comodity & profit of them whom he ruleth, the other only his owne: The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alledged wherefore Kings were ordained. At the beginning, (as Cicero in his Offices saith) it is certaine that there was a certaine time when the people lived without Kings: but afterward when land and possessions began to be divided according to the custome of every Nation, then were Kings ordained for no other cause but only to execute justice. For when as at the beginning the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and vertuous man who should defend the poore from injury, and ordaine Lawes, whereby the rich and poore should dwell together. But when as yet under the rule of Kings the poore were oft oppressed, lawes were ordained and instituted, the which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like care unto the poore, as unto the rich, whereby we doe understand not only the people but the King to be subject unto the Lawes. Then the Doctor tells us, that he is against the Arbitrary way of government. For (saith he) we may and ought to deny obedience to such commands of the Prince as are unlawfull by the Law of God, yea by the established Lawes of the Kingdom.

Ans. This reason doth no way destroy Arbitrary government but rather erect it. For government is not said to be Arbitrary because the subjects may deny in word, and suffer to suffer. For then the Turkish government is not arbitrary. For when the great Turke commands his subjects to doe any thing, if they will deny and suffer for their deniall they may



may, and doe sometimes deny their obedience. If there be lawes whereby a King is to rule which he shall command his subjects to breake, and his subjects are neither bound to obey him nor suffer by him, then his government is not arbitrary; but if there be lawes made, and he may inforce his subjects either to keepe them or breake them, and punish them at his pleasure that shall refuse, and the whole kingdome bound in conscience to suffer whatsoever he shall inflict for not breaking those lawes, then is his government arbitrary: for arbitrary government is that whereby a Prince doth rule *ex arbitrio*; which he doth, when either there is no law to rule by but his owne will, or when hee hath a power to breake those lawes at his will, and to punish the subject at his pleasure for not breaking them; and in truth this latter is rather an arbitrary government then the former, as it shewes more liberty in the will, that it hath a power to act when reason perswades to the contrary, then if there were no reason dissuading, and else there should be no arbitrary government in the world. For no State but hath some lawes whereby they rule and are ruled even the very Indians; onely here lyes the arbitrarinesse of a government, that notwithstanding the law, the Ruler may *pro arbitrio* force his subjects according to his owne pleasure. Then the Doctor saith,

*We must consider that they which plead for resistance in such a case as is supposed, doe grant that it must be concluded upon, Omnibus ordinibus regni consentientibus, that is, with the generall and unanimous consent of the two houses.*

*Ans.* 1. First these words are ill translated; for *omnes ordines regni* may consentire, and yet there may not be an unanimous and generall consent of the Members of the two houses as of one man.

2. If so that the Doctor grant this to be our Sentence, why then doth he object against us, that the Christians in the primitive times did not take up armes for the defence of themselves against the Emperors, seeing they had not the consent of all the orders of the Empire, and therefore their case is nothing to ours, as hee pretends afterward. But if they had the whole Senate of Rome with them, the representative body of the Empire, then their case had beene more like unto ours; and then no question but they would have taken up armes for the defence of themselves.

Then the Doctor saith, *We suppose that the Prince must be so and so disposed, bent to overthrow Religion, Liberties, Lawes, &c.*

*Ans.* Here he takes that for granted which was never given, but wee say not that we suppose, but seeing and finding experimentally that a Prince is misled by those about him that would overthrow religion, liberties, lawes; that then it is lawfull to take up armes to deliver the King from them, and to bring them to condigne punishment. Then hee proceeds

ceeds to propound three Generalls, which he endeavour eth to prove in his following Discourse, which I shall speake to in order.

SECT. II.

**T**He Doctor saith, that the principle is untrue upon which they goe that resist, and the conscience cannot finde cleare ground to rest upon for making resistance: for it heares the Apostle expressly say, Whosoever resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

*Ans.* In this his resolving of Conscience he endeavours to scare those that are tender with the word of damnation, and forbids this resistance upon paine of damnation; but the word in the Greeke is rather to be translated judgement and punishment, and as *Piscator* observes thereby is not meant eternall damnation, but the punishment of the Magistrate in this life; as appears by the following words which are given by the Apostle as a reason of the former, thus: *They that resist shall receive to themselves judgement, for rulers are not a terror to good workes, but to evill.*

Then he proceeds to some examples of Scripture, which are brought by us to strengthen our Doctrine; wherein he takes what hee pleaseth and leaves out what he lists. The first example alledged is that of the people rescuing *Jonathan* out of the hands of *Saul*, to which he answers the people drew not into armes of themselves, but being there by *Saul's* command did by a loving violence and importunity hinder the execution of a particular passionate, and unlawfull command.

*Ans.* First, here the Doctor grants that the people used a violence which is that that we would prove; but hee doth not make it out by the Scripture that it was a loving violence, which is the thing hee should prove: Neither is there any thing in that place which doth argue that he was delivered by love, for it is said that the people rescued him; and what is the rescue by men in armes but a violence? 2. According to the Doctors position they should not have rescued him, but onely have defended themselves by prayers and teares, and left *Jonathan* to suffer; and therefore though he grants but a rescue by loving violence, he gives away his cause in the threshold of his worke.

The second example alledged (saith the Doctor) is *Dauids* resisting *Saul*, to which he answers, that *Dauids* guard which he had about him was onely to secure his person against the cruelty of *Saul*, who sent to take away his life.

*Ans.* Therefore according to his owne grounds a Parliament may take up a guard to secure their persons against the cut-throats that are about a King, and this is more then prayers or teares or meere sufferings, which the Doctor onely allowes in the following part of his discourse.

2. Here

Penam  
xp̄i  
sic malo  
quam con-  
demnatio-  
nem, puto e-  
nim hoc in-  
telligendū  
de p̄c̄i.  
quam infert  
magistratus,  
sicut verba  
frequentis  
declarat,  
& sic verbū  
xp̄i  
accipitur  
pro puni-  
tione.  
1. Cor. 6. 11.  
Piscat.  
Rom. 13.  
1. Sam. 14.



1. Herein also he gives his cause, for if *Dauids* guard was to secure his person against the cut-throats of *Saul* if sent to take away his life (as he sayes) they could not secure *David* but by fighting against those messengers of the King: and if he grants that messengers sent by the king may be resisted by armes, he grants all that his adversaries contend for.

2. The Doctor saith, *this practice of Dauids was a meeke defence without all violence offered to Saul.*

*Ans.* But what think you then of *Dauids* words which he used to *Achish* in 1 *Sam.* 29. 8. *And David said unto Achish, what have I done, and what hast thou found in thy servant so long as I have beene with thee to this day, that I may not goe fight against the enemies of my Lord the King? amongst which enemies was Saul and his cut-throats* (as the Doctor calls them) but

2. His adversaries desire no more from this instance of *David* but an hostile defence: for where there is an hostile defence, though there bee no blowes given, yet the defender would strike if there were cause, else why is he in armes?

3. *David* also was but one subject; and if it were lawfull for one subject to defend himselfe by way of hostility, much more for the representative body of the whole Kingdome.

4. According to the Doctors principles *David* ought to have done no more then to have sought God with teares and prayers, and given up himselfe in a suffering way to the fury of *Saul*, and therefore though it were meerly an hostile defence, yet it is more then his doctrine teacheth, and so in granting of this, he is contrary to what he sayes afterwards.

For the matter of *Keilah*, the Doctor answers our supposition (as he calls it) with his own saying: but whether *David* would have defended *Keilah* against *Saul*, I leave to the conscience of the Reader, considering that this only is made the reason of his removing from *Keilah*, because the men of *Keilah* would not be faithfull unto him, for he did not enquire of the Lord whether it were lawfull for him to abide in *Keilah*, but having enquired whether *Saul* would come downe against him, and whether *Keilah* would deliver him up into *Sauls* hand; he removed from *Keilah* because the Lord answered him that they would deliver him up, not because it was unlawfull for him to keepe the City, but because the City would be false to him.

And whereas the Doctor saith that in all this the example of *David* was extraordinary, for he was anointed and designed by the Lord to succeed *Saul*.

*Ans.* I answer, though *David* was Gods Anointed, yet he was *Sauls* subject, and though God did extraordinarily protect *David*, yet his extraordinary

traordinary protection doth not argue that his practice was unlawfull but doth rather argue it to be more lawfull and commendable: for God will not give extraordinary protections to unlawfull actions, and if *David's* demeanour herein was extraordinary, then he had an extraordinary command for what he did. For it is not lawfull for a man to step from Gods ordinary way, but by some speciall commandment from God, and if he had such a command then how is that true which the Doctor saith afterward, that there is no command in Scripture for such a practice of kinde of resistance as this.

3. In the words immediately before, the Doctor saith, *this practice David was a meere defence without all violence offered to Saul*; and if so, how was his demeanour in standing out against *Saul* a worke extraordinary if it were a worke extraordinary, then it was not a meere defence without all violence, for that is an ordinary worke of the subjects toward their King.

Then the Doctor comes to other examples of his adversaries, whereby they contend (as he sayes) for resistance, as that of the High Priest resisting the King in the Temple, and *Elisha* shutting the doore against the Kings Messenger that came to take away his life; to the first he sayes that the High Priest did no more then what every Minister may and ought to doe if the King should attempt to administer the Sacrament, that is reprove him, and keepe the elements from him,

2 Chron.  
16. 17

Ans. But if that were all, the Priests should not have been commended for their valour, but their faithfulness: and ver. 17. it is said that *Azariah* the Priest went after him, and with him fourescore Priests of the Lord that were valiant men. In that they were commended here for valiant, it shewes that their worke was not onely reproofe but resistance.

And whereas he saith, that they thrust him out of the Temple because *Gods band was first upon him, smiting him with Leprosie, and by that discharging him of the Kingdome also.*

Ans. I answer, how does that appeare out of Scripture that the King being smitten with the leprosie was an actuall discharge from his crown? Then the Doctor saith, *Elisha's example speaks very little, but let us thence* (saith he) *take occasion to say that personall defence is lawfull against the sudden and illegall assaults of such Messengers, yea of the Prince himselfe thus far, to ward his blowes, to hold his hand, and the like, &c.*

Ans. 1. If you may ward his blowes, and hold his hands, this is more then praying and crying and suffering.

2. Suppose the King hath an army with him, how can you hold an armies hands without an army and therefore according to his owne words it is lawfull for the subjects considered State-wise to raise an army to defend themselves.

3. But



3. But this instance of *Elisha* tells us that Messengers sent by the King to take away a mans life may be taken prisoners, is not that a resistance? for *Elisha* said, see you how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away my head? looke when the messenger cometh, shut the doore, and hold him fast at the doore, 2 Kings 6.32.

Then the Doctor comes to answer a similitude of the body naturall and politicke, whereby it is argued that as the body naturall, so the body politicke may defend it selfe: to which the Doctor answers, as the naturall body defends it selfe against an outward force, but striues not by schisme or contention within it selfe, so may the body politicke against an outward power, but not as now by one part of it set against the head, and another part of the same body.

Ans. Now therefore here the Doctor granteth that it is lawfull for the naturall body to defend it selfe against an outward force, and what is the *Militia* for especially, but against forrainers?

Then the Doctor distinguisheth betwixt a personall defence and a generall resistance by armes. He saith, a personall defence may be without all offence, and doth not strike at the order and power that is over us, as generall resistance by armes doth, which doth immediately strike at that order which is the life of the Common-weale, which saith he makes a large difference betwixt *Elisha's* shutting of the doore against the Kings messenger, and their resisting the King by armed men.

Ans. But why was *Elisha's* defence personall? because he was but one person that was defended? then if one man defend himselfe against 1000. in armes that is a personall defence, or was it personall because only the person of the Prophet made defence and had none to assist him? not so because he spake to the Elders to shut the doore and hold him fast, and if this act of *Elisha* was contrary to the Kings command, why did it not as immediately strike at the order and power that was over him, as our resistance doth now? indeed if the subjects as private men strengthened with no authority should gather together in a rude multitude to oppose lawes and governours, then that worke should strike immediately at the order and power and life of a State, but that the State should send out an army to bring in Delinquents to be tryed at the highest Court of the Kingdome, that justice and judgement may runned downe like water which hath bene stanchd up, is rather to confirme and strengthen the order and power of authority, and so it is in our case.

Then the Doctor proceeds to some Scriptures, wherewithall hee thinkes to strengthen his opinion, let us follow him: First (saith hee) we have the two hundred and fifty Princes of the Congregation gathering the people

people against Moles and Aaron, Numbers 16.3. and perishing in their sinne.

*Ans.* I answer that *Moses* and *Aaron* had not neglected their trust, and our question is in the generall laying aside all respect to our Sovereigne whether a Prince neglecting his trust, and doing that through his bad Councell which may tend to the ruine of a State, may not by the whole State be resisted therein? Now see how extreemly wide this instance is from this question.

First of all the 250. Princes of the Congregation were not the whole people, nor the representative Body, nor any imployed by the whole people.

2. *Moses* and *Aaron* had not offended but were innocent.

The Dr. answers, *The other supposed they had bin guilty, and that is enough it seems.*

*Ans.* It seems so indeed by him, that supposalls are enough to charge the Parliament, but with us supposalls are not enough to charge our Prince.

2. The Dr. argues from 1 Sam. 8. 11. saying, there the people are let to understand how they would be oppressed under Kings, yet all that violence and injustice that should be done unto them is no just cause of resistance, for they have no remedy left but crying to the Lord, vers. 18.

*Ans.* In this Scripture *Samuel* shewed them what their King would doe, not what he should doe; and when he saith at the 18. verse, *You shall cry out in that day because of your King which ye shall have chosen you, and the Lord will not heare you in that day*, he telleth them not what should be their duty, but what should be their punishment, for he doth not say, then shall you cry unto the Lord and he shall heare you as is the manner of Scripture when it enjoyneth a duty to annex a promise of acceptance. But he saith you shall cry in that day because of your King, and the Lord will not heare you in that day, setting forth the punishment of that their choice.

3. The Dr. saith that according to Scripture the people might not be gathered together either for civill assemblies or for War but by his command; who had the power of the Trumpet, that is the supream, as *Moses* was, Num. 10.

*Ans.* The Parliament hath sounded no Trumpet for Warre but what the supreme power hath given commandement for. For the Doctor saith Section 1. page 2. *That in the established Lawes of the Land we have the Princes will and consent given upon good advise, and to obey him against the Lawes, were to obey him against himselfe, his suddaine will against his deliberate will, so that if there be any established Lawes whereby the*

King



King hath given his former deliberate consent for the blowing of the Trumpet that now sounds, then this objection is but a false allarum. Now though I be no Lawyer, and must refer you much to what the Parliament hath said who are the Judges of the Law, yet thus much I can tell you as consonant to right reason : That unlesse the Parliament have a power to send for delinquents and accused persons to be tried in that highest Court of Justice, I say unlesse they have such a power they are no Parliament. The King hath often protested to maintaine the liberties and priviledges of Parliament : Now suppose a man be complained of to the Parliament for some notorious crime, it is granted by all that the Parliament hath a power to send a Serjeant at Armes for him, and if he refuse to come, that Serjeant at Armes hath a power to call in more helpe ; and if the Delinquent shall raise twenty or thirty, or a hundred men to rescue himselfe, then the Parliament hath power to send downe more messengers by force to bring up the Delinquent, and if they may raise a hundred; why may they not upon the like occasion raise a thousand, and so tenne thousand? And if the King shall protect these Delinquents, that is but his sudden will, the Doctor saith, his deliberate will in the Law is to be preferred before his sudden will; now this is the knowne Law of the Kingdome, and the constant practise of all Parliaments that they have a power to send for their Delinquents, and indeed else how can they be a Court of Justice, if they cannot force the accused to appeare before them? And therefore according to the Doctors owne principles the Kings deliberate will being in his Law, he himselfe hath sounded this Trumpet, though by his sudden will (as he calls it) hee is pleased to sound a retreat. For though the Doctor saith that the Parliament takes up Armes against the King, yet herein he doth but abuse them, mistake the question deceive many.

The truth is, they doe but in this Army now on foot under the command of the Earle of Essex send for those Delinquents that have bene obnoxious to the State : and to deny them such a power as this, is to deny them the very being of a Parliament : For by the same reason that they may send one Serjeant at Armes for one, they may send one thousand for one thousand.

Then the Doctor tells us, *That it is a marvellous thing that among so many Prophets reprehending the Kings of Israel for Idolatry, cruelty, and oppression, none should call upon the Elders of the people for this duty of resistance.*

*Answer*

*Ans.* I cannot but wonder at the Dr. his marvelling: For what can be more plaine then that Text, *2 Kings 6.32.* But *Elisha* sate in his house, and the Elders sate with him, and the King sent a man from before him, &c. but when the messenger came to him, hee said to the Elders, see how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away my head, looke when the messenger commeth shut the doore, and hold him fast at the doore. The Dr. wonders if resistance were lawfull, why no Prophet should call upon the Elders of the people for this duty of resistance, here is the Prophet *Elisha* calling on the Elders to imprison the Kings messenger.

Then lastly, the Dr. saith that Scripture, *Rom. 13.* Let every soule be subject to the higher powers; and ver. 2. *Whosoever resists the power, resists the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation, doth above all give us a cleare manifestation upon the point.*

*Ans.* Now therefore let us here joyne issue, and if this place which the Dr. makes the very hinge which all his discourse moves upon, be not clearly and fully against him, then let the consciences of men be satisfied in all that he saies; but if it be against him, then let them reject all that he affirms.

He would prove from hence that it is not lawfull for any man to resist with a forcible resistance the command of a King though he command what is unlawfull, because (sayes he) that this commandment was given unto the Christians to be obedient unto Roman Emperours whose commands were neverly destructive to the Christian Religion, and those powers nothing but subverters of that which was good and just.

*Ans.* That there is no such thing commanded in this Scripture I prove by these reasons.

1. Because the power that every soule is here commanded to be subject to, and not to resist is that power which is not a terror to good works but to evil. The 3. verse being made a reason of the 2. the 2. verse saith, *Whosoever resists the power resists the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves judgement*; then the reason is given: for *Rulers are not a terror to good workes; but to evill*, ver. 3. and therefore the subjection commanded, and resistance forbidden, is not in things that are unlawfull, and contrary to the Law of God. 2. The power that we are commanded to be subject to, and not to resist is the ordinance of God; and the Minister thereof is the ordinance of God to us for good, ver. 4. saies the Apostle, speaking of the Ruler that we are to obey, *he is the Minister of God to us for good*: but when he commands a thing unlawfull, and contrary to the law of God, he is not the Minister of God to us for good: therefore in this Scripture there is no such thing commanded us to



subject to, and not to resist the ungodly command of Princes.  
*Ob.* And if it be said that though his commands are unlawfull, yet he may be a penall ordinance of God for our good.

I answer, that in this Scripture we are not commanded to submit unto a penall ordinance, because the submission enjoined here by the Apostle reaches to all times and places: and all times and places have not their authority and government by way of a penall ordinance.

3. Therein the Apostle commands us in this Scripture to be subject, and not to resist, wherein the Magistrates are Gods Ministers, but in unlawfull commands they are not properly and actively Gods Ministers though God may make use of them: though in regard of their place they may be Gods Minister, yet in regard of the thing commanded they are not; when they command things that are evill and contrary to Law. Now so we are commanded to be obedient as they are in that action Gods Ministers.

Verse 6. *For this cause pay you tribute also for they are Gods Ministers attending continually upon this very thing.*

4. It appeares by all the first verses of this 13. Chapter that the subjection and obedience here commanded by the Apostle is not passive obedience or subjection, but active; for the Apostle having said, ver. 1. and 2. *Let every soule be subject to the higher power, and not resist*, he saith at the third verse, *Why wilt thou not then be affraid of the power, doe that which is good*, and at the sixth verse, *For this cause pay you tribute also. But if the King command any thing that is unlawfull and sinfull* (the Doctor saith) *we are so be subject only passively*: therefore the subjection commanded, and resistance forbidden in the Scripture, not such as relates the unlawfull command of Princes (as he affirms when the Roman Emperour commanded things destructive to the Christian Religion) accordingly Hieron upon the place, *Offendit Apostolus in his qua recta sunt iudiciis obediendum, non in illis qua religioni contraria sunt.* And besides, the Doctor himselfe confesseth, page. 11. *that this prohibition was not temporary, but perpetuall*: therefore to reach unto those times, when the Prince should command that which was good, therefore the subjection here commanded was active subjection, and not merely passive.

But the Doctor saith, he will free this place from all exceptions, and therefore he saith first, *I may suppose the King supreme, as St. Peter calls him, or the higher power as St. Paul here, though it be by some now put to the question.*

*Ans.* And is it but now put to the question? What shall we say then of that speech of Doctor Bilsone *By superior powers ordained of God, we understand not onely Princes, but all publick States and Regiments, some*

*Where the people, somewhere the Nobles having the same intrust to the sword that Princes have in this Kingdome: and from this place Rom. 13. we are commanded to be obedient to those that are in authority. Suppose we be in some country where there is no King, but States, doth not this Scripture command us subjection there also? How therefore by the higher Powers here is meant onely the King? The Doctor acknowledgeth that the Parliament is the highest Court of Justice in the Kingdome; and the highest Court of Justice, must needs fall within the compasse of these words, the higher Powers; unto which, by vertue of this commandement of the Apostle, we are to be obedient. How then is this true which the Doctor saith, that by the higher Power is meant the King onely or supreme, in opposition to the Parliament.*

*But I prove it (saith he.) For S. Peters distinction comprehends all that are in authority, the King as supreme, and all that are sent by him, 1 Pet. 2. 13. in which latter ranke are the two Houses of Parliament, being sent by him, or sent for by him, and by his Writ sitting there.*

*Ans. Calvin (and other Interpreters) herein is contrary unto the Doctor, who saith thus; Those that referre the pronounce (him) to the King, are much deceived: for this is that common reason, whereby the authority of all Magistrates is commanded; becaule they doe rule by the commandement of God, and are sent by him: (By him) being referred to God by other Interpreters, and to the King with the Doctor.*

*Then the Doctor saith secondly; In this Text of the Apostle it is said, All persons under the higher powers, are expressly forbidden to resist: for whosoever in the second verse, must be as large as the every soule in the first.*

*Ans. That which the Doctor aimes at in these words, is to make the whole Parliament subject unto the King. And who denyes them to bee the Kings subjects? and that as men, and Englishmen, they should not be subject unto the King? But if he meanes, that as a Parliament, they should be subject to enact and doe what ever he commandeth, then how is that true which he saith in the 25. 26. pag. That there is such an excellent temper of the three States in Parliament, there being a power of denying in each of them: for what might follow if the King and Lords without the Commons, or these and the Lords without the King, might determine, &c. Or if he meane, that as a Parliament jointly considered, they are to submit passively unto the unlawfull commands of the King, and that passive obedience is commanded only here in this 13. Ro. then this is so to straiten the Text, as never any yet hath straitned it: neither indeed can any conscience thinke, that when the Apostle commands us to be subject unto the higher powers, his meaning is only by way of suffering in his unlawfull commands, and not by way of*

obedi-

Nam qui  
pronomen  
(ei m) ad  
Regem refe-  
runt multum  
falluntur.  
Est igitur  
huc commu-  
nitas a  
commen-  
dandam  
omnium  
magistratu  
authoritate  
quod man-  
dato Dei  
presunt &  
ab eo mit-  
tuntur: unde  
sequitur  
(quemad-  
modum &  
Paulus do-  
cet) Deo re-  
sistere qui  
ab eo ordi-  
nata non se  
obedienter  
submittant.  
Calv. in 1  
Pet. 1. 13.



obedience in his lawfull commands.

Thirdly, the Doctor saith, *That the Roman State might challenge more by the fundamentals of that State, then our great Councell (he thinks) wil or can.*

*Ans.* But what then? Is it not therefore lawfull for the subjects now to resist the higher power commanding things unlawfull, because the Apostle commanded there that we should not resist the higher powers in things that are lawfull? Herein lyes the Doctors continued mistake: He thinkes this command of the Apostle was given to the Christians to be obedient to *Nero* in his unlawfull commands; whereas the Apostles command in this place, reaches to all times, and is made to all that are Christians: Although they did live under *Nero*, yet it does not follow, that the Apostle commanded them to be subject to him in unlawfulls. If indeed *Nero's* commandements were onely unlawfull, and this direction of the Apostle was made onely to the Christians in those times, and that the subjection commanded were onely suffering subjection, then this Scripture might make much for his purpose. But though *Nero* was an enemy to the Christians, yet some of his commandements were lawfull; and this direction of the Apostle was not made onely to the Christians in those times, but as a generall rule for all good men: and the obedience and subjection here commanded, was not onely to be passive, but active (which I have proved already, wherein I also appeale to the Doctors own conscience, whether that this Scripture doth not command active obedience and subjection to the Prince) and therefore his interpretation thereof is exceeding wide, and his argument null.

Then the Doctor saith, *If it be replied, that that prohibition was temporary, and fit for those times, as it is said by some whom he answers.*

*Ans.* I answer, that the Doctor here makes his owne adversary, and fights with him. Many other answers he refutes also, it being not in my purpose to make good every pamphlet, but to satisfie mens consciences: onely I cannot but here take notice, that the Doctor professes against arbitrary power, or such as conquerours use, as he did *Sect. 1.* professe, that he was much against arbitrary government. But I wish the Doctor would be pleased to consider his own principles, as he delivers them in these papers: for he sayes: *that the Roman Emperours were absolute Monarchs, and did indeed rule absolutely and arbitrarily, and that they did make themselves such absolute Monarchs by conquest.* Then he sayes, *this Crowne of England is descended by three conquests.* And therefore if one conquest is a reason for the arbitrary government of the Emperour, he cannot but thinke (though he conceale his minde) that his government also ought to be much more arbitrary.

What else remains in this Section, I have either spoken to it already, or shall more aptly in the following Discourse.

SECT. III.

**T**He Doctor saith, *That for the proving this power of resistance there is much speech used about the Fundamentals of this power; which because they lie low and unseen by vulgar eyes, being not written laws, the people are made to believe that they are such as they that have the power to put new laws upon them, say they are.*

*Ans.* Herein he turns the Metaphor of Fundamentalls too far, as if because the fundamentals of a house cannot be seen, therefore the fundamentall laws cannot be seen; which are not therefore called Fundamentall, because they lie under ground, but because they are the most essentiall upon which all the rest are built, as fundamentall points of Religion are most seen, and yet fundamentall.

Secondly, he sayes, *these fundamentals are not written lawes.* The Parliament say they are, and produce severall written lawes for what they do. The Doctor, and those that are of his sense, say they are not: who should the people be ruled by in this case, but by the Parliament, seeing the Doctor himselfe saith, none are so fit to judge of the lawes as they?

Then the Doctor saith, *Those that plead for this power of resistance, lay the first groundworke of their Fundamentalls thus; The power is originally in and from the people; and if when by election they have intrusted a Prince with a power, he will not discharge his trust, then it falls to the people: or, as in this Kingdome, to the two Houses of Parliament, the representative body of this Kingdome, so far as in they may re-assume the power. This is the bottome of their fundamentals, as they are now discovered to the people.*

*Ans.* We distinguish, as he doth, the power abstractively considered from the qualifications of that power, and the designation of a person to that power. The power abstractively considered, is from God, not from the people: but the qualifications of that power, according to the divers waies of executing in severall formes of government, and the designation of the person that is to worke under this power, is of man: And therefore the power it selfe we never offer to take out of Gods hand, but leave it where we found it. But if the person intrusted with that power, shall not discharge his trust, then indeed it falls to the people, or the representative body of them to see to it; which they doe as an act of selfe-preservation, not as an act of jurisdiction over their Prince. It is one thing for them to see to it, so as to preserve themselves for the present,



present, and another thing so to re-assume the power, as to put the Prince from his office. As for example: Suppose there be a ship full of passengers at the sea in the time of a storme, which is in great danger to be cast away through the negligence and fault of the Steers-man; the passengers may for their own present safety (that they may not be all cast away) desire the Steers-man to stand by, and cause another to stand at the Sterne for the present, though they do not put the Steers-man out of his office. And this is our case: we doe not say that the Prince not discharging his trust, the people and Parliament are so to re-assume the power, as if the Prince were to be put from his Office; which the (Doctor not distinguishing thus) would obtrude upon us, but only that the Prince being abused by those that are about him, whereby the charge is neglected, the people, or representative Body may so looke to it for the present, setting some at the sterne till the storme be over, lest the whole suffer shipwracke. And herein the Doctor does exceedingly wrong us, disputing against us, as if we went about to depose our King, which we contend not for, nor from these principles can be collected.

Then the Doctor saith, *That however the fundamentalls of this government are much talked of, this is according to them the fundamentall in all Kingdomes and governments: for they say power was every where from the people at first, and so this would serve no more for the power of resistance in England, then in France or Turkey.*

*Ans.* If it be the fundamentall in all Kingdomes, and Governments, then it seemes it does not lye so low, and unseen (as the Doctor said before) because all the world sees it.

Secondly, whereas he saith, *this will serve no more for power of resistance in England, then in France or Turkey:* he seemes to insinuate that France and Turkey have no such power of resistance: but who doth not know that the Protestants in France are of this judgement with us and practise? witnesse that businesse of Rochell.

Then the Doctor saith, *we will cleare up these two particulars, whether the power be so originally, & chiefly from the people as they would have it; Then whether they may upon just causes re-assume that power: and saith, first of the originall of power which they would have to be so from the people, as that it shall bee from God only by a permissive approbation.*

*Ans.* If the Doctor takes Power for Magistracie it self, and sufficiencie of authority to command or coerce in the governing of a people abstractively considered, as distinguished from the qualification of that power, according to the divers waies of executing it in severall formes of government, and the designation thereof unto some person, then I do not

believe there is any man in the Parliament (whom the Doctor especially disputes against) or of those who write for them, that hold that the power is from the people, and by permission and approbation onely of God; neither can they: for in that they contend so much for the Parliament, it argues they are of opinion that authority and power in the abstract is from God himselfe: and for the designation of a person, or qualification of the power according to severall forms of government; the Dr. himself grants it in this Section to be the invention of man, and by Gods permissive approbation.

Then the Doctor comes to prove this by 3. arguments, *That power as distinguished from the qualification thereof, and designation, is of divine institution.*

*Ans.* Wherein he might have saved his labour in those three arguments, for none doth deny it: yet we will examine what he saith in the arguments: 1. he saith, that the Apostle speaks expressly, *that the powers are of God, Rom. 13. 1. and the ordinance of God, vers. 2.* by which power he understands the power it selfe of Magistracy as distinguished from the qualifications thereof, or designation of any person thereto.

1. And if so, how is that true which he saith before, Section 2. where he saith, *that the higher power in Paul, Rom 13. is all one with the King as supreme, 1 Pet. 2. 12.* whereas he confesseth *that the government of a King or Prince is the qualification of the power?* to doth the Apostle himselfe, calling it *ανθρωπινη κτισις*, an humane constitution.

2. If by power here, *Rom. 13.* be understood Magistracie, and authority it selfe in the abstract, then when we are commanded to submit thereunto, the meaning cannot be that the Christians in those times, must submit to the unlawfull commands of the Emperour, (as the Doctor would have it before) seeing the way of governing by an Emperour or Prince, is but the qualification of the power; surely if by power we are now to understand Magistracie and Authority it selfe in the abstract, then all that is commanded in the 13. *Rom.* to submit thereunto, is to acknowledge a Magistracie, & then all the Doctors arguments, and his strength whereby he would prove that we may not make forcible resistance to unlawfull commands from *Rom. 13.* falls to the ground.

Then the Doctor tells us in the same argument, *this power is called an ordinance of man* subjectivè, wherein he laies this distinction, *That power is considered two waies, either as it is subjectivè amongst men, and so it is ανθρωπινη κτισις, or else as it is considered causaliter, and so it is απο Θεου, of God.*

*Ans.* But this is too strait, for it is called *ανθρωπινη κτισις*, not only because it is amongst men, but it is *ανθρωπινη κτισις* an humane constitution, in foure respects, 1. because it is so *causaliter*, the forme of severall governments



ments being an invention of man. 2. *Subjettive*, because it is amongst men. 3. *Objective*, because it is busied about men. 4. *Finaliter*, because it is ordained for man, and the Common-weale, yet power it selfe is the constitution and ordinance of God.

Then the Doctor proves, *That the power is of God, because the Magistrate is called the Minister of God*, Rom. 13. vers. 4.

*Ans.* But here he slips from the power it selfe, to the person designed to the power: for the power it selfe is not called the Minister of God, which was the thing he undertooke for to prove.

And so in this third argument where he saith to the same purpose, speak those other places, *By me Kings reigne, I have said ye are Gods*, yet he confesseth, *that the formes of government by Kings and Emperours, is an invention of man in the first argument.*

But now suppose the Doctor had proved that the power abstractively considered, is of Gods institution, and had granted that the qualifications of this governing power in severall formes of government, and the designation of the person thereto be of man, what hath he gotten from, or gain'd upon his imagin'd adversary? For suppose that his adversary should say that they may depose their Prince, if he neglect his trust (which is not our case) because that his power is originally from them, how doth that which the Dr. hath said, weaken this argument? For though he hath proved that the power of it selfe is from God, yet having granted that the formes of that government, and the designation of a person thereto, is from the people, they may as well urge and say therefore we may alter the government, and may depose the person because he was of our designing, as well as they might have argued so, if the power it selfe had been from themselves.

Then the Doctor saith; *The imputation is causelesse which the pleaders on the other side doe heedlesly and ignorantly lay upon us Divines, as if we cried up Monarchy, and that only government to be Jure Divino.*

*Ans.* To let passe reproaches, how can we thinke otherwise, if wee should beleeve all that the Doctor saith? For he proves that the power mentioned, Rom. 13. is *Jure Divino*, and yet he saith, Sect. 2. *That the higher power there, is all one with the Supreme, or King in Peter*: but this with the nature of Monarchicall government, we shall come to consider more fully in that which followes.

The remaining part of this Section is but to prove that the power it selfe is of God, that the qualification and designation was firstly of man, which we all grant.

## Sect. IV.

**N**OW we come to the forfeiture (saith the Doctor) of this power, if the Prince, say they, will not discharge his trust, then it falls to the people or the two Houses (the representative body of the people) to see to it, and to re-assume that power, and thereby to resist. This they conceive to follow upon the derivation of power from the people by virtue of election, and upon the stipulation or covenant of the Prince with the people, or also to be necessary in regard of those means of safety which every state should have within it selfe. Wee will examine them in order.

*Ans.* Herein he doth charge us with this opinion, that wee hold it lawfull for the people to re-assume their power, in case the Prince discharge not his trust, making the world beleieve that we contend for deposing of Kings; or that the Parliament goes about such a worke as that is for what else is it for the people or Parliament to re-assume their power from the Prince? whereas we desire all the world should know, that we now take up armes as an act of selfe-preservation, not endeavouring or intending to thrust the King from his Office, though for the present the State sets some under the King at the Sterne, till the waters be calmed, as we said before.

Then the Doctor saith, concerning the derivation of power, we answer, first if it be not from the people, as they will have it, and as before it was cleared, then can there be no re-assuming of this power by the people.

*Ans.* How doth this follow? for all that the Doctor had cleared before, was this; that power abstractively considered was from God, not from the people; now let us see whether the clearing of that will bring in such a consequence as this, that there can be no re-assuming of this power by the people: if it will enforce such a consequence, then the syllogisme is this; If power and magistracy and authority it selfe be of God and the forms of government and designation of persons be of man, then there can be no re-assuming of this power by the people. But the power it selfe and magistracy is of God, the formes of government and designation of persons is of man (saith the Doctor Sect. 3.) Therefore there can be no re-assuming this power by the people, saith the Doctor, Sect. 4.

*Ans.* Will not his imagined adversaries easily deny the sequell? indeed if he had proved that neither the power nor the qualification, nor the designation were of man but of God, and cleared that first, then hee had taken that argument from his adversaries; but seeing he hath granted that the wayes of government and designation of persons to bee of man (though he hath proved the power it selfe of God) sure he hath not stopped the course of their arguments, or practice against whom he disputes.

The



Then he comes to shew the inconsequence, and saith, *If the people should give the power absolutely, as they would have it, leaving nothing to God in it but approbation, yet could they not therefore have right to take that power away, for many things which are altogether in our disposing before we part with them, are not afterward in our power to recall them.*

*Ans.* He supposeth we goe to take the power away from the Prince, (which we doe not, as hath beene said.)

3. There is a difference between disposing of things by way of donation or sale; and disposing things by way of trust: true; those things which we dispose of by way of donation or sale are not afterward in our power to recall, as they were before the donation or sale: as if a man give his childe land, or sell land to his neighbour, it is not in the power of the father or neighbour to recall or dispose of the land, as before the donation or sale: But if a thing be disposed of by way of trust, then if the fiduciary or trusted shall not discharge his trust, it is in the power (at least of the trusting) to looke to the matter himselve; as in case that a Steward be trusted with a mans house; and thus when any government is set up in a land by a people, they trust the governour, they doe not give away their liberties or rights, but trust them in the hand of the governour, who if abused that he doe not performe his Stewardly trust as he should, the people or representative body as an act of selfe preservation (I doe not say, as an act of jurisdiction) are to looke to it. Neither herein doe they so resume their power as to take away any thing which they gave to the King, but so as to actuate that power which they alwaies had left in themselves, (as the power of selfe-preservation.)

Then the Dr. saith, *Although it were as they would have it, that they give the power, and God approves, yet because the Lords hand also and his oyle is upon the person elected to the Crowne, and then he is the Lords Anointed, and the Minister of God, those hands of the people which were used in lifting him up to the Crown, may not againe be lifted up against him, either to take the Crowne from his head, or the sword out of his hand.*

*Ans.* If this be true, then Princes that are meerly elective and not hereditary, and whose coming to the Crowne is meerly pactionall, cannot be deposed by the people, for they are the Lords Anointed, and the Ministers of God; but this is contrary to the Doctor himselve, who in this same Section saith thus, *Although such arguments (speaking of the consuetude of the Princes power in the next line before) may seeme to have some force in States meerly elective, and pactionall, yet can it never be made to appeare by any indifferent understanding, that the like must obtaine in this Kingdome. And to this purpose saith the Dr. Phil. Pareus excuseth what his father had writ-*

ten on Romans 13. in the point of resistance : that it was to be understood of elective and passionall government, and when the government is elective and passionall, are not the Princes the Ministers, and the Lords Anointed?

Then the Doctor saith, How shall the Conscience be satisfied that this their argument grounded upon election, and the derivation of power from the people, can have place in this Kingdome, when as the Crowne not onely descends by inheritance, but also hath so often been settled by conquest, in the lines of Saxons, Danes and Normans.

Ans. First, how can the Conscience be satisfied in that which the Dr. writes in this his booke, where he acknowledgeth in this Section that it is probable indeed that Kings at the first were by choise here as elsewhere? And in Section 5. saith, that the forms of severall governments (whereof Princedome is one) are from the invention of man, and so by derivation from man.

2. The Drs. great design I perceive by his frequent touching this matter is to make our King a King by conquest; for in Sect. 3. He saith Gods Vice-gerents here on earth came into their Office either by immediate designation, the election of the people, succession and inheritance, or by conquest; now he cannot say that our King came in by immediate designation, & he doth not say that our Princes lay claim to the Crowne by vertue of their election, & if by inheritance, then by the right of an election or by conquest; for by meere inheritance a man hath no more, then what those first had, whom he doth succeed; Inheritance being but the continuation of the first right upon the children, the right of election he doth disclaim, and of derivation of power from the people, therefore the right that he makes our Prince to have to the Crowne is onely the right of a Conquest; then if any mans sword be longer or stronger then his, hee may quickly have as much right to the Crowne as the King; which opinion of the Drs. for my owne part I must abhor from, what danger will it not expose our dread Sovereign to? Did not *Athaliah* reigne as a Conqueresse six yeares? And who knowes not that she was lawfully thrust from the Throne againe by a stronger hand then her owne? Meere conquest being nothing else but an unjust usurpation: and if the Conquerour rule the whole Kingdome, and keepe them under by conquest only, why may not the subject rise and take up armes to deliver themselves from that slavery? Thus doth the Doctor open the door to greater resistance then those that he disputes against.

3. Though a Prince should hold his right by conquest as the next right, yet if he hold it also by derivation from the people as the remote right, and the last be the more naturall and just way, then arguments grounded



grounded on that remote right may be more valid, then those that are grounded on the next right, but thus it is with our Prince who although he doth succeed the conquerour, yet doth also take in the voluntary and free consent of the Common-weale unto his Crowne; which a meer conquerour doth not, but rules without the consent and against the good liking of the people.

Then the Dr. saith, *We tell them the Roman Emperors were not to be resisted; they reply that they were absolute Monarchs, was it any other way then by force and arms, the way that the Saxons, Danes and Normans made themselves masters of this people.* Ans. Now in these words we see the Drs. mind plainly that he contends for an arbitrary government; for he saith page 11. that the Emperours did rule absolutely and arbitrarily, and here he saith how came they of Subjects to be absolute Monarchs, was it any other waies then by force and arms the way that the Saxons, Danes and Normans made themselves masters of this people, in whose right and lines he saith before, the Crowne descended upon our King. What can be more plaine then this for an arbitrary government? It seems the Dr. was conscious to himselfe that herein he had discovered himselfe, and therefore he saies this, I speake not as if the Kings of this land might rule as Conquerours, but that will not heale it.

Then the Doctor comes to the matter of capitulation or covenant, or oath which the Prince taketh to confirm what he promised, which, saith he, are so alledged as if the breach or non-performance of the Princes part were, a forfeiture of his power. But we answer, saith he, the words capitulation or covenant are now much used, to make men believe the Kings admittance to the Crowne is altogether conditionall: whereas our King is King before he comes to the Coronation.

Ans. Herein the Doctor mistakes us: for though we acknowledge a covenant, yet we cannot be so weake as to thinke that any breach of the covenant is a forfeiture of the Kings power, for then the best man could not be King long; but we first affirme a Covenant, for though the Kings of Israel were Monarchs, and immediately designed by God himselfe to their office, and so one would thinke there should be no need of their comming to the Crowne by a covenant, yet to shew the necessity of this oath and covenant when they came to their Crowns, they also took an oath, and entred into covenant with the people to protect their rights and persons, 1 Chro. 11. 3. 2. We say that this mutuall covenant betwixt the King and the people, binds the King to the people, as well as the people to the King; and that therefore, it is as well unlawfull for a King by force to oppresse his subjects, and to take up armes against them, as for the subjects to take up armes against him.

Thirdly, that hence it followes that the Kings power is limited.

4. From this covenant and capitulation we say, thereby it appears that the people doe commit a trust to the King: which,

5. If he doth neglect, as he doth not alwaies forfeit his power, so neither are they to forfeit their right of looking to themselves for the present. And therefore all that the Doctor saies, that we urge the covenant and capitulation so much as if our King were a conditionall King, and that which he brings to prove that he is a King before Coronation is needlesly urged against us: for we say and speake plainly, that though the right that our King hath to the Crowne is firstly by derivation of power from the people, yet he hath his right by inheritance, and is not such an elective King as is chosen for a time, and his life if he rule well: and so his right to end in himselfe, but to continue upon his posterity: for the people doe derive their power two waies, either so as to chuse a man into office for his life onely in case he rule well, and so our Kings Predecessors were not brought to the Crowne; or so as to commit the trust of the State unto him, to descend upon his posterity, which when his posterity comes to, hath both a right of election and inheritance; it being the right of inheritance as it is left by their fore-fathers, and the right of election in regard of its principle from whence it flowed: and thus we doe estate our King in his Throne, hereby establishing him more sure therein, and then the opposite opinion of conquest doth.

Then the Doctor tells us, *That though the King doe breake his covenant, or not make performance thereof, yet a forfeiture of his power doth not follow from thence: for saith hee, could they in this covenant shew us such an agreement between the King and his people, that in case he will not discharge his trust, then it shall be lawfull for the States of the Kingdoms by armes to resist, and provide for the safety thereof it were something.*

To which I answer, we doe not presse the forfeiture of the Kings power upon non-performance of covenant; but we say this; that the end of his trust being to looke to the Kingdom, though there be no such word expressed in the covenant or agreement betwixt the King and his people, that in case he shall not discharge his trust, then it shall be lawfull for the State of the Kingdom by armes to resist, and to looke to their own safety: their safety being the end of this trust, & *ratio legis* being law in reason that must be implied, there is a covenant stricken between one man & a woman at Marriage; when they marry one another it is not verbally expressed in their agreement, that if one commit adultery, the party shall be divorced; and yet we know that that covenant of marriage carries the force of such condition. What followes in this Section



either a repetition of what was before, or what in substance we have answered already.

Onely at the last the Doctor moveth this question: *What when if the Prince take to himselfe more power, or not performe what he is bound to? and answers, then may the subjects use all faire means as are fit to use, crye to God, petitions to the Prince, deniall of obedience to his lawfull commands, deniall of Subsidies, &c. but are left without all means to compell by force or resistance.*

*Ans.* The subjects are considered two wayes:

{ Socially }  
{ Severally }

Severally as private men, and so it hath beene taken for granted, that in case of oppression the subjects have used no armes but teares and prayers. Before this Parliament, how many oppressions were there upon the people, both in their estates and in Gods worship, by those who had unadvisedly gotten authority from the King; and yet wee saw no forcible resistance made, but every man quietly subjecting himselfe under that suffering condition.

Socially and joyntly, and so there is other remedy for the subjects: then onely prayers and teares, and that the subjects are considered in this posture wherein now we are, professing that wee take not up armes as we are private men barely, but as subjects united and joyned in the representative body of the Kingdome, which never yet was counted unlawfull by any Divines, as I have shewed before.

#### Sect. V.

The Doctor comes unto that which he calls our last reason, the safety of the Kingdome, where he saith first, *that we have many weapons sharp and for this resistance as the Philistines forge, our arguments being borrowed from the Roman Schooles, as he saith.*

*Ans.* But there is much difference betweene us and the Papists in this particular; for, 1. The Papists contend for the lawfulnessse of deposing Kings, which we doe not. 2. The Papists plead for a power to depose a Prince in case that he turn Heretick, which we doe not; for we hold that though a Prince may leave and change his religion, the subjects are not thereby excused from their allegiance. 3. The Papists doe not onely hold it lawfull to depose and thus to depose their Prince, but to kill him also: whereas, that a private man invested with the Popes authority may doe thus;

all which we abhor from: why therefore should the Doctor charge us thus, and make the world beleefe that we favour the Popish doctrine in this particular? But as the Parliaments Army is scandalized by the adversaries, saying, there are many Papists in their army to helpe on their designs; so is our doctrine scandalized by our adversaries, saying that we make use of Popish arguments to strengthen our opinion; but the truth of this we leave to all the world to judge of.

But to prove this, the Doctor saith further, *that by this reason the Pope assumes a power of curbing or deposing Kings; for that if there be not a power in the Church, in case the civill Magistrate will not discharge his trust, the Church hath not meanes for the maintenance of the Catholick faith, and its owne safety.*

*Ans.* But what likenesse is there between that of the Papists, and this of ours? The Papists saying, the Church hath a power of preserving its own safety, and therefore the Pope may depose: we say the Kingdome hath a power to preserve it selfe, and therefore if the King neglect the trust, the State for the present is to look unto it: And as for the matter of the Church, we turne the Doctors argument upon himselfe thus;

If the Church cannot be preserved where the Officer is an hereticke, unlessse the Church have a power to reject him after once or twice admonition, then cannot a Kingdome have a power to preserve it selfe, when the officer is unfaithfull; unlessse the Kingdome have a power either to depose him, or to looke to their own matters till things be better settled: But the Church hath excommunication granted to it by Christ himselfe for its owne preservation; neither can we conceive how a Church can preserve it selfe from evils and errors, unlessse it have a power to cast out the wicked officers; as in the body naturall it cannot preserve it selfe, unlessse nature had given it a power to deliver it selfe from its own burdens, therefore the Commonweale also by the like reason cannot have a power to preserve it selfe, unlessse it have a power to deliver it selfe from its burden; but in case that an Officer be unfaithfull, we doe not say that it is lawfull for the Kingdome to depose him, therefore it may be lawfull for themselves socially considered Statewise, in time of danger to help themselves. Neither herein as the Doctor would, doe we appropinquate to the Romish doctrine, for the Papists from this power of the Church doe infer a power unto the Pope, and not unto the Church or community.

Secondly, the Doctor askes us this question by way of his second answer, *If every State hath such meanes to provide for its safety, what meanes had the Christian Religion under the Roman Emperors, in or after the Apostles times, or the people then enslaved, what meanes had they for their liberty,*



had they this of resistance? Tertullian in his *Apology*, sayes thus, the Christians had number and force sufficient to withstand, but they had no warrant.

*Ans.* 1. The question is wrong stated, it should have been made thus, If any State hath such meanes to provide for its safety; what meanes of safety had the Roman State under the Roman Emperours, when as he doth say, what meanes of safety had the Christian Religion under the Roman Emperours? Christian Religion, and the State are two different things.

Secondly, in the primitive times the Christians indeed had none of this power of resistance, nor warrant for it (as *Tertullian* speaks) because the Roman State was not with them; but suppose that the Roman Senate or Parliament had stood up for them, and with them, the representative body of the whole Empire (and this is our case, not as the Doctor sayes it) then would not the Christians have made resistance for their owne defence? No question but they would, and would have knowne that they had warrant therein; who may not see that hath but halfe an eye, the vast difference betweene the condition of the Christians in the primitive times, and ours? they not having the State to joyne with them, they not being the representative body of the Empire, as it is now with us; yet this objection maketh a great outcry, and there is some threed of it runnes through the Doctors booke, but how easily it may be cut, let the world judge; there being no more likenesse betweene our condition & the condition of the primitive Christians, then between the condition of private men whom the whole State doth move against, and the condition of people whom the State is with.

The Doctor replies; that though the Senate of Rome were against the Christians of those times; yet if the people have the first right, and all power becom from the people, that people must rise up and resist, because the Senate did not discharge the trust; and so it will be in this State, if at any time a King that would rule arbitrarily, should by some meanes or other, worke out of the two Houses the better affected, and by consent of the major part of them that remaine, compass his desires, the people may tell them they discharged not their trust, they charge them not to betray them, or enslave them; and so might lay hold on this power of resistance for the representative body claimes it by them.

*Ans.* Concerning the Senate of Rome, and the people of the Roman Empire, we say that though the Emperor and the Senate had been for the destruction of the Christians, yet if the whole body of the Empire had jointly risen for the Christians, I make no question but that many of those that died, would so far have resisted that they would have saved their owne lives; but the Emperours and Senate being against them, and the body of

of the Empire jointly considered, not rising for them: it is true indeed they had no warrant to make resistance, but to suffer as they did. This is none of our case.

Secondly, whereas the Doctor saith, both here and afterward in this Section; that if upon our grounds the King will not discharge his trust that therefore it falls to the representative body of the people to see to it, then the people having this power may also say, *if the Members of the two Houses doe not discharge their trust committed to them, they doe not that which they were chosen and sent for, and then may the multitude by this rule and principle now taught them, take the power to themselves.*

First, I answer, that there is not the same reason why the people should be so ready to thinke that the Parliament doe neglect their trust, being they are very many chosen out of the whole Kingdome for their faithfulness, approved every way for their goodnesse and wisdom; whereas a Prince may be borne to the Crown, and so by vertue of his inheritance may rule, though he be knowne to be vitious; as also because it is received by all the Kingdome that we ought to be governed by Lawes, and the people all know that the Parliament are better able to judge of the Law then the Prince is; as also because the people doe actually elect and trust the Parliament men with the present affaires of the Kingdome. Now though the Prince indeed be trusted by the Commonwealth with their affaires in our forefathers, whereunto the people doe now consent, yet there is not that actual election or designation of him unto the present affairs of the Kingdom, as there is of the Parliament men chosen for these particular businesses; as for example, suppose that a people doe chuse their Minister, trusting him with all the great affaires of their soules, and there doth rise a controversie betweene neighbours, wherein they chuse an arbitrator to umpire the businesses, though these two Parishioners have fallen out, have formerly trusted their Minister with all the affaires of conscience, yet they doe not so readily stand to his verdict, by reason of the generall trust, as to the verdict of those arbitrators whom they have now actually chosen for this business; neither can they in law or reason so easily revoke or renounce the sentence of Arbitrator, whom they have chosen to this business, as the sentence of their Minister whom they have trusted in the generall: so in this case of ours, though the King be entrusted by our forefathers and us with the generall affaires of the Kingdome, yet the Parliamentary men are actually elected and designed by the people for the present affaires of the Kingdome; and therefore the people take themselves bound to stand to their arbitrement: neither can they



they thinke, that they are at the like liberty to renounce their arbitrement and sentence, as they are for the deniall of their Princes commandement.

Secondly, I say, there is not the same reason that the people should recall their power from the Parliament, in case the Parliament should be unfaithfull, as there is they should see to things in case the Prince be misled: I say there is not the same reason, (though both the Parliament and Prince have both their power originally by derivation from the people) because that the derivation of power from the people unto the Prince, is not made the sole reason by those that the Dr. disputes against for this their resistance: but the authority that they are clothed with, whereas if a people upon surmises that the Parliament doe not performe their trust, should call in their trust and their power, then they should have left themselves naked of all authority, and should be private men; but now that they looke to themselves in this time of danger, and in that sense doe re-assume their power which they have derived to their Prince, they are still led on by authority.

Thirdly, the Doctor answers, *that we cannot expect any absolute means of safety and security in a State.*

*Ans.* Neither doe we expect it, though this be granted which we desire, or that granted which he contends for.

Then he saith, *that there is an excellent temper of the three Estates in Parliament, there being a power of denying in each of them, and no power of enacting in one or two of them, without the third: for what might follow, if the King and Lords without the Commons, or those and the Lords without the King might determine, the evils of these dayes doe shew: so is this power of denying, for the security of each State against other.*

*Ans.* This both the Doctor and I must leave to the judgement of those that know the Lawes and the Liberties, and the Priviledges of all three Estates.

Further, he saith, *that now not onely the name of Parliament which implies the three Estates, is restrained usually to the two Houses, but also that temper is dissolved.*

*Ans.* First, it was alwayes so, that the Parliament was made distinct from the King, in ordinary speech saying, The King and his Parliament: when the Parliament is mentioned alone, it may include the King; but when the King and Parliament are mentioned together, the speech can intend no more then the two Houses. As when the body is mentioned alone, it includes the head and the members;

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but

but when the head and the body are mentioned together, then the body doth not include the head.

Secondly, that the Doctor saith, this trust of the three States is dissolved, I conceive it is a scandalous charge, and so I leave that to others.

Then the Doctor saith, *If it be replied, as it is, for the reasonableness of this meanes of safety through that power of resistance, and that many see more then one, and more safety in the judgement of many then of one, I answer (saith the Doctor) true: but 1. Conscience might here demand for its satisfaction, why should one hundred in the House of Commons see more then three hundred, or twenty in the Lords House more then sixty that are of different judgement, and withdrawne?*

*Ans.* I answer, if there be three hundred of the House of Commons withdrawne, and but an hundred left; and sixty of the Lords House withdrawne unto twenty, if indeed there be so many gone away, why did they not come all this while and carry things by a vote, and the controversie had beene now at an end? Then could it never have been said to the people, that the Parliament are against the King, then might the three States have all joyned together, and there had been no further question.

Secondly, the Doctor answers, *that the Prince, though one, sees with the eyes of many, for which his Houses of Parliament are his great Counsellors to present to his eyes the differences of things, with the reasons of them.*

*Ans.* This needs no other answer then that which followes in the Doctors owne words, where he saith, that the King sometime differs from the major or prevailing part of the Parliament, so that he may see with their eyes, and see other things then they doe, and be of different judgement from them. And if he may see with other mens eyes that are of different judgement from him, because they doe present to his eyes the difference of things, with the reasons of them, then may the Houses of Parliament also see more then he does, because, the difference of things, with the reasons of them, are presented to them also.

Then the Doctor descends to prove, *that Monarchical government is the best, and that God made choice to set up that still, first in Moles, then in the Judges, then in the Kings.*

*Ans.* But how come we to this discourse, to compare Monarchy and Aristocracy? and to say that Monarchy is better government then Aristocracy? Doth it follow from the word *True*, which the Dr. has said to that proposition, many see more then one, and more safety



the judgement of many then of one. But seeing he is pleased to say, the government which God made choice of to set up among his people, was Monarchicall still, first in *Moses*, then in the Judges, then in the Kings, let us now diligently observe, that Monarchicall government which God made choice of. If *Moses*, the Judges, and Kings, were are all Monarchs, and Monarchy the best government. Then

1. The best government is such, where the people have the free choice of their Governour: for so they had in the time of the Judges, Chap. 11. 5. *And it was so, when the children of Ammon made war against Israel, the Elders of Israel went to fetch Jephtha out of the Land of Tob, and they said unto Jephtha, Come and be our Captaine, that we may fight with the children of Ammon. And Jephtha said unto the Elders of Gilead, If ye bring me home againe to fight with the children of Ammon, and the Lord deliver them before me, shall I be your head? And the Elders of Gilead said unto Jephtha, The Lord be witnesse betwixt us, if we doe not so according to thy word. Then Jephtha went with the Elders of Gilead, and the people made him Head and Captaine over them, v. 11.* Thus wee see that that government which the Doctor calls the best, and set up by God, is such, when the people have the choice of their King, and the derivation of his power is from them; as I have proved at large in the Preface, to have beene in the Judges and Kings of Israel.

Secondly, then the best government is that, where the King and people strike a covenant at his Coronation: which covenant the King is bound to observe, neither doth his covenanting with the people, make him no Monarch: for *David* was a Monarch, yet *David* made a covenant with the Elders of Israel, and so they anointed him King over Israel, 1 Chron. 11. 3.

Thirdly, then the best government is such also, where the Prince both advise with his people and Elders, doing no great matter in State, Religion without their consent, and with their consent doing. So *David*, 1 Chron. 13. 1. *And David consulted with the Captaines of thousands, and hundreds, and every Leader: and David said unto all the Congregation of Israel, If it seeme good unto you, let us bring againe the Ark, the Lord our God unto us: and all the Congregation said, that they would so: for the thing was right in the eyes of all the Congregation.* So that the people having an agency in the great affaires of the Kingdome, is no way repugnant, but consistent with Monarchicall government, or the government appointed by God himselfe.

Fourthly, then also is the best government appointed by God, such as doth carry along with it a lawfulness for the subjects to take up

armes, and make forcible resistance for their own security, and safety of the Commonweale against their Monarchs, when cause requireth: for did not the people sometime in Israel take up armes against some of the Judges? And did not David, though yet a subject to Saul, take up armes, and make forcible resistance? It is said expressly, 1 Chron. 12. 18. 19. *Then David received them, and made them Captaines of the Band, and there fell some of Manasses to David, when he came with the Philistines against Saul to battell.* The Doctor said before in his Treatise, that *David tooke up armes onely in his owne defence.* But doe these words note no more? Only I presse them thus far, as may shew a lawfulness for the people to take up armes in a way of forcible resistance against the Kings commandement, when the danger is eminent: which we finde agreeable to the best government set up by God himselfe, as the Doctor acknowledgeth.

In the fourth place the Doctor answers, *that such power of resistance will be no meanes of safety to a State, but rather a remedy worse then the disease;* which he proveth from Rom. 13. (which I have answered already) and from some reasons, as 1. *This power of resistance, if admitted and preserved, may proceed to a change of government:*

*Ans.* To which I answer, that if severall formes of government be of humane constitution (as the Doctor speaks) why should we think that they are utterly unalterable, as the laws of the Medes & Persians.

But secondly, this principle of ours cannot boyle up to that height for we only say, that when the Prince shall neglect his trust, the people are to see to it, and silenc'd not for deposing.

2. He saith, *This power of resistance is accompanied with the evils of a civill war.*

*Ans.* No, but therefore we are afflicted with civill warre, because some people are misled from their own natures, to take up armes against their own Country: Civill war is from the cause thereof, now the Parliament calls for armes only to defend the Country: they make the civill war that are against the Countries defence.

Thirdly, he saith, *There is danger in this power of resistance: for if the people be discontented, and have gotten power, they may say, the Members of the two Houses doe not discharge their trust, and so by this rule, take up the power to themselves, and so all rapine and confusion brought into the Kingdome.*

*Ans.* There can bee no such inference made from this principle of ours: for the people do all acknowledge, that we are to bee governed by Lawes, and that (as the Doctor saith) the Parliament is the



**Judge what is Law :** the people doe acknowledge, according to truth, that the Parliament hath the declarative power, or the supreme power of declaring the Law, the King doth not professe this, but rather the contrary, that he is no Lawyer, nor skilled in the Lawes. The Parliament doe professe it, and the people acknowledge them to be so; and therefore there is not the same reason, that they should take their power to themselves, in case that the Parliament should neglect their trust: for why should the people take that power unto themselves, should it be according to Law? The Parliament will then tell them, that they have done that which is according to law, wherein they confesse, that the two Houses have the power of declaring. But now if the Prince shall neglect his trust, and the people take a power to looke to themselves in times of danger, by way of forcible resistance, the Prince cannot say, when the Parliament is against him, the supreme power of declaring law, doth agree my course to be lawfull: so that you see there is not the same reason of both.

And whereas the Doctor saith, *That upon the like reason, if the Parliament shall neglect their trust, the people may call in their power.* How can the people thinke that the Parliament doth any thing contrary to the law of the land, when the Parliament are the Judges thereof, and the people confesse so: and therefore the Doctor may be out of feare for this matter.

Lastly, the Doctor saith, *That seeing some must be trusted in every Estate, it is reason that the highest and finall trust should be in the higher and supreme power, and that he should have the best security, which is worth ten thousand of his subjects.*

*Ans.* I answer, therefore the people do trust the King and his Parliament, who are the highest power and Court in the Kingdome: and if the greatest and best security should be about the King, because he is worth 10000. subjects, then surely the Kingdome it selfe should have the best security, because the King is ordained for his Kingdome.

In Fine, the Doctor presses the path of Supremacie, Allegiance, and the last Protestation upon the conscience, and wishes men here to consider their power of resistance, and taking up of armes is contrary thereto; in which he saith, *We swear and protest to defend the Kings person.*

*Ans.* And thus we do by taking up of Arms: for what man is there that considers things rightly, may not easily perceive, that if the Popish party should prevaile (which are either about the King, or of

his Armies,) I say, who may not easily shake, if they should prevail, that either our King must be a ranke Papist, or a dead man? Who knows not, that if the Papists get the upper hand, though now they cry out for Supremacy, Supremacy, that either they wil force the King to another Supremacie, or else quickly make a hand of him? Is it not their opinion? What better service therefore can a true subject performe to his Majesties person, then by force of Armes to deliver him out of the hands of those Spoylers that lye in waite for his pretious soule? In the oath of Supremacie we sweare him our Sovereigne to be Supreme in opposition to the Pope, or any other particular person. How does our doctrine or practise infringe this? In the oath of Allegiance we swear to be his liege Subjects according to Law, and that which we doe is so: And in our Protestation we protest to maintaine the Kings Person, the Parliaments priviledges, the Subjects rights, and our Religion: if we doe not take up arms in this time of Popish insurrection, how can we with good conscience say, that either we defend the Kings Person from the violence of Papists, which (according to their owne Doctrine) we know shall be made upon our King, or the priviledges of Parliament, whose power is to send for delinquents, and those that are accused before them, even by force to bring them into their triall; or the liberty of subjects, who have this given by nature to defend themselves, or the truth of our religion, which notwithstanding all flourishes, we have seen such invasions made upon, and now in our conscience under more hazard, because those that are opposite unto it, doe professe to defend it: whereupon I presume that every good man that maketh conscience of his waies (considering these things) will not be backward to advance this publicke designe. And though the Doctor be frequent with his damnation both in this Section and in others, charging men from this resistance upon paine of damnation; yet a settled conscience will be no more scared with the Doctors damnation, then with the Cavaliers God damne us.

**N**OW the Doctor comes to the application of all in these two last Sections, in which I intend not to trace him into all that he saies. The application of all being left unto what men see and know experimentally: yet something I must say unto these Sections. In this first he tells us that we doe not walke up unto our owne principles, which are as (he saith) that our resistance must be *omnibus ordinibus regni consensibus*: that is (as he translates it) agreed upon and undertaken



undertaken by the generall and unanimous consent of the whole States.

*Ans.* But is this a good and true translation of the words? The Doctor may know that when the matter comes to a scrutiny in the Regent house the matter is to passe with the consent of the Regents, non-Regents, and heads of the University; and though all doe not unanimously as one Man consent, yet it may be *omnibus ordinibus consentientibus*.

But he saith, *How shall conscience be perswaded that this resistance was agreed upon by an unanimous and free consent of the States*; for saith he, *he that knowes how the Militia (in which this resistance chiefly began) was brought in, with what opposition especially in the Lords House, and by what number that at length was voted; also how the like proceedings was voted since, how that a vote passed by a few upon the place, though it have the power and condition of a vote, for the formalities of law was not passed in full assemblies, cannot be perswaded in conscience that this is such an unanimous, free & generall consent as makes the judgement of the whole Kingdom.*

*Ans.* To the which I answer, that by the like reasoning, there is no act of Parliament or Law, shall be of any force; and he may as well question any law that is made; for when was there ever any law made, which all did unanimously as one man consent to? By the constant law of the Kingdom though there be not so many in either House which have been present at these late affairs of the Kingdom, it is to be acknowledged for an act of Parliament, and so the judgement of the whole Kingdom.

Then secondly, he tells us, *That we doe not walk up to our second principle, viz. that our resistance must be meere defensive*, for, saith he, *those that are first in armes cannot be upon the defensive part*, page 22. and then page 21. saith he, *who were first in armes? He that can number the succession of months and weeks in his Almanacke, may decide this, he shall find that armed men were thrust into Hull, the Militia set up, &c.*

*Ans.* To which I answer, If those that are first in armes cannot be on the defensive part, then surely Davids act was not meere defence, as the Doctor saith before: for we finde in Scripture, that David, and his men were gotten into armes before that Saul followed him: surely the Doctors Almanack hath not all the months in it, for he begins his account only at the businesse at Hull, whereas before that, the King came in hostile manner unto the Parliament, gathered forces about Windsor, but this must be left unto mens eyes, and experienced knowledge, it being matter of fact.

Then

Then the Dr. (I know not how) comes to enquire into the cause of these armes, wherein after some flourishes, he saith, *Would any man have defended the revolt of the ten Tribes, if Rehoboam had promised to conserve their liberties?* Saying further, *what shall we then generally thinke of this revolt from allegiance, which hath possessed well neare ten Tribes of the twelve, and yet in page 21, he tells us of a vote passed by a few upon the place, that this worke of resistance is not carried on with a generall and unanimous consent, and yet here he saith, ten tribes of twelve are for it.*

In examining the causes of this war and resistance, the Dr. saith, *To speake truth, Religion and liberties can be no other then the pretences of this war, the King having fortified them with so many acts of his grace passed this Parliament, that they cannot be in that danger that is pretended for the raising of this war: It must be something that his Majesty indeed doth deny, for which the contention is raised; which we shall finde to be his power of armes, his power of denying in Parliament the government of the Church, and the revenue of it, which he is bound by oath to maintaine, as by law they are established.*

Ans. This is a very bold assertion and scandalous to charge a Parliament in the face of the world with hypocrisie: but how doth this agree to the Drs. owne principles, who doth declaime against men for their uncharitablenesse, in not beleeving the Kings Protestations? Is this then no uncharitablenesse in him, charging the Houses with pretending one thing, and intending another? Is not conscience as well bound to be charitable, and to beleve the Protestations of the Parliament, as those papers that come out in the name of the King? and hath the Parliament and Houses carried themselves so unworthily and basely, that under pretence of Religion, we should thinke they gape after the revenues of the Church? O where is this man of charity? And if the King be bound by oath (as the Dr. saith) to maintaine the government of the Church as by Law established, yet he is no more bound by vertue of that oath to maintaine that government then any other Law of the Kingdom; and as for other Laws, if the King and Parliament thinke fit to repeale them, they may, yet without breach of the Kings oath: so in this also.

Then the Doctor comes in the 25. page to open himselfe somewhat more freely concerning the government of the Church by Bishops: where he saith, *That it is such a government which the Church alwaies had since the first receiving of the Christian faith in the land, and of all other governments simply the best, the abolishing where*



of, the King hath reason by power of Armes to divert.

To which I answer, First, that if the Doctor looke into the story of Queen *Maries* time, he shall finde, that suffering Protestant Churches, (which by reason of persecution, were faine to lye hid in London) were governed by Elders and Deacons: That is simply the best government of the Church which is chalked and ruled out by the Scripture, as the Doctor will confesse: and if this government bee so, I wonder that those that are so much for it, should bee of that judgement, that there is no particular forme of Church-government laid downe in the word: which judgement they must needs bee of, unlesse they will hold, that the government of other Churches is sinfull, and contrary unto the word, which they are loth for to doe. And truly if this government be simply the best, the best hath the worst successe: for there is no government in all the Churches of Christendome, that hath had so many Sects and Schismes, or occasioned so much separation from the Churches of Christ; as this hath done. There are many Sects and divisions in the low Countries, but none of them departing from the Protestant Church there, by reason of the Church-government or discipline, but by reason of doctrine.

Let any man but seriously consider the Protestant Churches in Switzerland, France, Holland, Germany, Scotland, and hee shall easily observe, that there is no such separation or division made from the Churches by reason of the Church-government established in them, as hath been here in England, by reason of this Diocesan government. And if any man shall say, this bad successe here is rather to bee imputed to the wickednesse of the Governours, then the corruption of government: Why should hee thinke that the Governours in England are more wicked then in other Protestant Churches, if the government it selfe did not give scope to their wickednesse? And if the government of Diocesan Bishops, bee of all governments the best, wee wonder that Christ and his Apostles should not appoint it: surely they appointed some government in the Church; and what they appointed was *iure Divino*, and so best; whereas this was never counted

*Iure Divino* till of late. But if this government bee simply the best, it will abide triall in its due time and place : but that it should be so good, as that the abolishing thereof, the King hath reason by power of Armes to divert, this is strange. Now the Doctor shewes himselfe, that hee had rather the Kingdome should be embrewed in a bloody warre, then Episcopacie should be put downe; and that will stirre up the King to an unnaturall civill warre for the upholding of that order : Judge yee, O all Englishmen, whether it be better for you to have this order taken away, then for the whole Kingdome to lie imbrewed in their owne gore ?

In the conclusion of this Section the Doctor complaines, *That the Kings Speare and Cruse, and necessary Ammunition, and provisions, are taken away, not restored though often demanded, contrary, saith hee, to the example of David, who having taken the Speare and the Cruse from Saul his King, restored them againe before they were demanded, 1 Sam. 26.*

*Ans.* But though *Sauls* Speare was restored before it was demanded, yet not before *Saul* had humbled himselfe to *David*, saying, *I have sinned; returne, my sonne David, for I will no more doe thee harme; because my soule was pretious in thine eyes this day: Behold, I have played the fool, and have erred exceedingly, vers. 21.* Whereupon *David* arose, and said, *vers. 22. Behold the Kings Speare, let one of the young men come over and fetch it.* Neither is mention here made of restoring the Cruse. Some other things the Doctor hath in this Section, wherein hee doth rather charge then prove, but mens knowledge may sufficiently answer to those things.

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## SECT. VII.

**I**N this last Section the Doctor tells us, *That though Conscience could be perswaded that it is lawfull to make a defensive resistance, yet it can never be perswaded that the King is such as the people must bee made to believe he is: for indeed it concernes all such as will resist upon the*



the principles now taught, to render their Prince odious to his people, under the hatefull notions of Tyrant, subverter of Religion and Lawes, a person not to be trusted, or at least as one seduced to such evill designs, by wicked counsels, that hee will bring in Popery, that hee will not stand to his promises.

*Ans.* These are sad charges, but how groundlesse God and the world knowes; who may not see how tender the Parliament hath been of the Kings honour? Therefore they have not beene willing to beleieve that those Declarations that came out in his name, are his owne: Therefore they charge all that is done on his counsellors, not on himselfe; herein being fully like unto *David*, who though *Saul* came out against him, yet did he not impute that unnaturall warre unto *Saul* himselfe, so much as unto those that were about him, saying unto *Saul*, *If the Lord hath stirred thee up against me, let him accept an offering; but if they be the children of men, cursed be they before the Lord: for they have driven mee out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, 1 Sam. 26. 19.* Therefore also when the Parliament hath written any thing that might in the least measure reflect upon his Majesty, I have observed that they never did write so, but to vindicate and to cleare themselves from some aspersions first cast upon them; and when they did write so, like *Shem* and *Japhet*, they took a garment and went backward; desiring rather to cover then to behold any nakednesse in our dread Sovereigne: And woe be unto them from the Lord, (but I will not curse them with the curse of *(Ham)* who put his Majesty upon such actions, whereby any nakednesse should bee discovered.

Then the Doctor comes to the examination of those fears and jealousies which have possessed the people, which hee saith are raised on these grounds, report of forraine powers to be brought in, the Queens religion, the resort of Papists to his Majesty, his intercepting of meanes sent for the reliefe of Ireland: To which he answers, first, That the report of forraine invasions given out to keepe the people in a muse, the easier to draw them into a posture of defence are discovered in time to have been vain: But saith he, If there be now any foraine aid coming towards the King (as all Christian Kings cannot but thinke

*himself does concern in this cause) it will be just for him to use them against subjects now in arms.*

*Answ.* To which I answer, That it doth not appeare that our fears were vaine, because forraigne invasion hath been prevented; for we may rather thinke that therefore we have not been invaded by forraigners, because the Parliament hath beene vigilant both by sea and land to prevent them. But who doth not see that so far as lies in the Doctor, he doth invite forraigne forces into the land, and so stir up other Princes for to send them, and our King for to use them? Whether this be agreeable to an English Divine, or an English Subject, I leave to be judged.

Then he saith, *The Queens religion is no new cause.*

*Answ.* To this I say nothing, but leave it (being matter of fact) to the judgement of eyes that have seene actions, whether there be no more cause of jealousy now then at her first entrance.

And thirdly, for the resort of Papists, and the Kings entertaining them, the Doctor strengthensthe intrust of it with that example of David, we may see saith he, *what manner of men were gathered to David in his distresse, and how Ziba was rewarded.*

*Answ.* To which I say this only, how can the Doctor make it appeare, that those that were gathered to David were men of another Religion from David, and of such a Religion that by the State was counted rebellion, who also by the State was to bee disarmed? Which if the Doctor does not make good, this instance is nothing to our case.

And 4. for the matter of Ireland, I leave that wholly to the Parliaments Declarations, who without doubt know the proceedings of those better then this Doctor, and what conscience enlightened will not rather rest for satisfaction upon Parliamentary Declarations, then upon this Doctors assertion in this matter.

The other things in this Section are mostly matter of fact, and therefore I must referre them to mens sense, onely I cannot but observe how in all things the Doctor clears the King, and casts dirt upon the Parliament, but still with this cunning, when he hath laid the greatest aspersion upon them, he retracte in these words: *I speake not this to cast any blame upon the wisdom of the great Council,*



cell, like as before, when he had said what he could, (or happily dar'd) for the Kings ruling by conquest, he comes off with this kinde of speech, *This I speak not as if the Kings of the land might rule as Conquerours*; and this is an ordinary sleight when men have preached against purity and holinesse with as much bitterness as they can, then they thinke to come off in this or the like manner, *God forbid that I should speak against purity and holinesse*: But let him in Gods name, cleare the King in what he may, (as wee are all bound to doe as farre as we can) but can he not cleare his Majesty without such foule aspersions cast on the Parliament? of whom he saith this page 30. *Men are highly concerned to consider whether they also that are the maine directors of this resistance doe discharge this trust they are called to, whether to divest the King of the power of Armes, and to use them, be to defend his Person, Right and Dignity? Whether the forcing of the Subjects property to the advancing of this resistance, and the imprisoning of their persons for deniall, be the maintaining of the right and priviledge of the subjects? Whether the suffering of so many Sects to vent their Doctrines, and to commit such unsufferable outrages upon the worship of God with such licentiousnesse, be a defending of Religion, and the established worship of this Church?*

*Ans.* These are foule charges upon the Parliament: How can the Doctor say, *I enter not this discourse to cast the least blemish upon the Parliament*? Well, blessed is the man that condemneth not himselfe in that thing which he alloweth: The Doctor confesseth, *That man to bee subject to higher powers and that we are to submit to them*, he confesseth also, *That the Parliament is the highest Court in the Kingdome, and it ought to judge what is the Law*; they having therefore judged this resistance to be lawful, if the Doctor shall resist this their declarative power, saying it is not law, and cast such dirt and reproaches upon them, doth he not condemne himselfe in the thing which he alloweth?

But in this last clause of his booke, *he summons conscience to answer upon paine of damnation*, and I make no question, but when men shall have seriously considered his booke, the verdict that conscience will bring in, will this be:

As in the sight of God, I have perused this Treatise of his, and I finde it injurious to the King, to the Parliament, to the Divines of this Kingdom, to the other Subjects, & to the Treatiser himself.

To the King, for hereby he is put on, and exasperated against his Parliament and Subjects, further engaged in this war, and encouraged to take the assistance of Papists, who if he conquer by their meanes, what Protestant good subject doth not bleed to thinke what will become of him?

To the Parliament, being charged with the blood that is spilt in these warres, with the miseries of Ireland, with the Schismes and Sects of this Kingdome, with open hypocrisie, pretending one thing, and intending another.

To Divines, all whom he makes to be of his judgement.

To the Subjects, denying to them the liberty given them by God, and Nature, and the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, and calling in forraigners upon them.

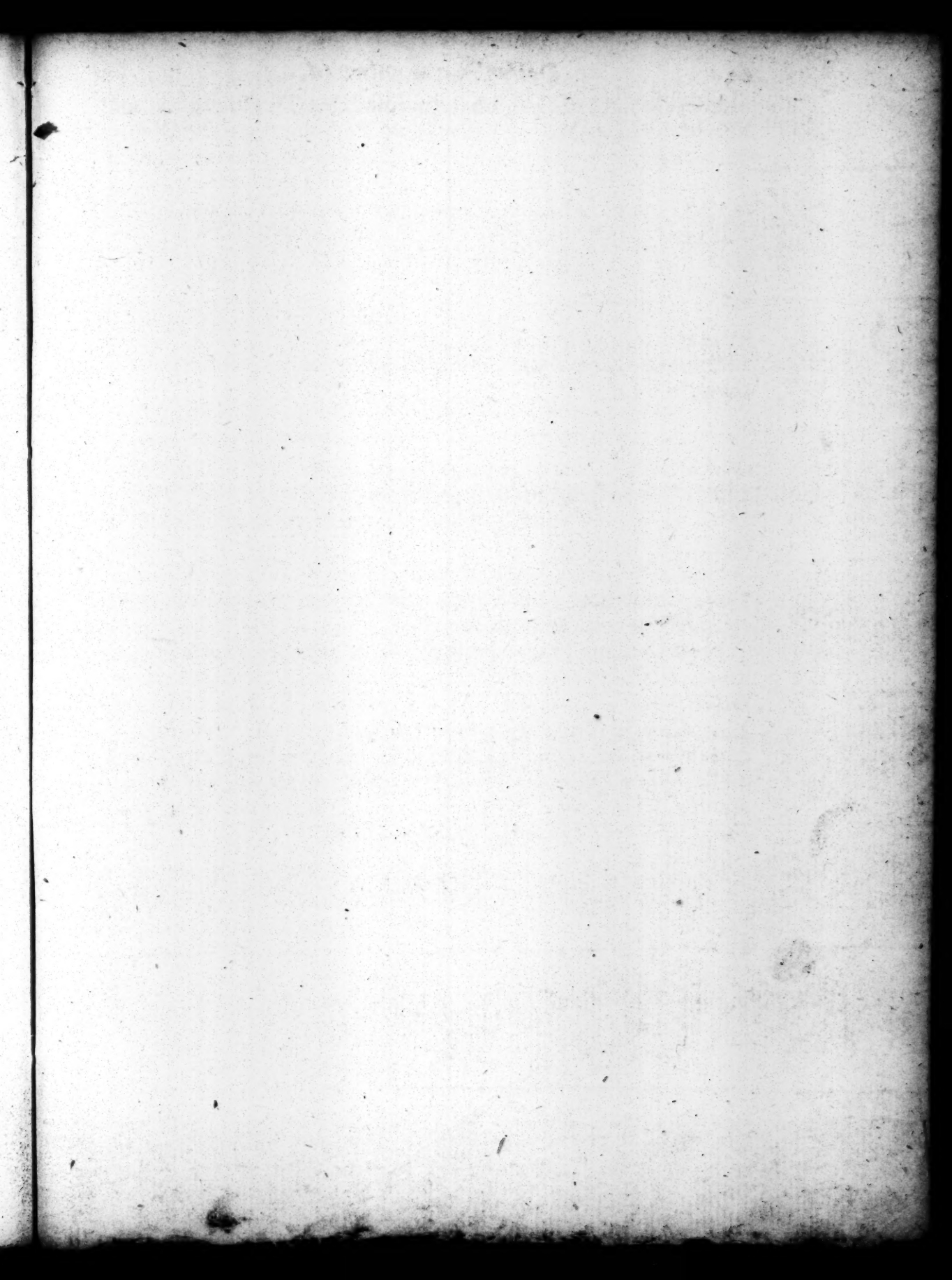
To the Treatiser himselfe, who hath needlessly imbarcked himselfe in a bad cause.

And lastly, to the Scripture and God, and his great Officer on Earth, Conscience; the Scripture being wrested, God dishonoured, and the conscience deceived.

Now the Lord grant that whilst we speake of Conscience, we may in all things make conscience of our waies, for *multi conscientiam habuit ad iudicium, non ad remedium*. As concerning the King, Give the King thy judgements, O God, and thy righteousness unto the Kings Son: And as concerning the two Houses of Parliament, Let the mountaines bring grace unto the people, and the little hills thy righteousness. Let the King and Queen, and people praise thee, O God, yea let all our England praise thee.

**F I N I S.**





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